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ART. I.—THE BUCHANAN RECORDS.

IN the beginning of this century (1807-14) Dr. Francis Buchanan made a Statistical Survey of South Behar and North-Eastern Bengal. The districts visited and described by him were Shahabad, Patna, Gya, Bhagalpur, Rajmahal, Sonthal Parganas, Purniah, Maldah, Dinajpur, Rangpur, including an excursion to Kamatapur in Kuch Behar, and Assam as far as Gawalpara. He also made an excursion to Sonargaon in Eastern Bengal, and he ended his survey by visiting and describing Gorakhpur in the North-West Provinces.

Buchanan was a doctor in the service of the East India Company. He was born at Branziet in Sterlingshire in February 1762, received his medical education at Edinburgh, where he took his degree in 1783, and was appointed to Bengal in 1794. In a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh in June 1821, and published in their Transactions in 1826,* he gives some account of his Indian travels. He tells us that immediately after his appointment he was sent with Captain Symes to Ava, and that in this way he saw in 1795 somewhat of the Andaman Islands and a good deal of the kingdoms of Pegu and Ava. For 1796-97 and part of 1798, he was stationed at Lakshmipur, † in the Noakháli District where he employed his leisure in studying ichthyology. In 1798 he went, at the request of the Board of Trade, to Chittagong, and on this occasion saw something of Tipperah. Then he was stationed at Barui-pur in the 24-Perganas, where he employed his leisure in describing fishes and in collecting plants for Dr. Roxburgh. In

*171. It is accompanied by a well-executed map showing India according to the Sanskrit divisions. Perhaps this is the first Western attempt to illustrate Hindu geography by a map. In the first edition (1795) of Colebrooke's Essay on Bengal Husbandry, reference is made in a note at p. 2 to a map showing the ancient divisions, but if this map was ever published, it is not now to be found in the copy in the British Museum. There is no reference to a map in the edition of 1804.

† The Luckipur of Rennell. It is at the mouth of the Meghna. Rennell mentions it as the scene of a very destructive inundation in 1763.

1800 he made a survey of Mysore, of which he afterwards published a valuable account. Thereafter he was appointed to Captain Knox's Mission to Nepal, and passed, by easy stages, and with many halts, through the ancient territory of Basala, now called Saran, and through a portion of Mithila now called Tirhut. "There I carefully examined and collected such plants as were in flower, and on 1st April 1802 I ascended into Nepal."* There he remained for a year and then returned to Calcutta. In 1803 he was appointed Surgeon to the Governor-General (the Marquis of Wellesley) and was chiefly employed in superintending the menagerie at Barrackpur, and in describing the animals there collected. In 1805 he returned to England with the Marquis, and in 1806 was appointed by the Court of Directors † to make "a Statistical Survey of the territories under the Presidency of Fort-William, usually in Europe called Bengal; but containing many extensive regions besides Bengal, taking that even in the most extensive sense of the Mogul province of that name." "In Hindu Geography, Vanga, from whence Bengal is a corruption, is applied to only the eastern portion of the Delta of the Ganges as Upavanga ‡ is to the centre of this territory, and Anga to its western limits." He commenced his survey after the rains of 1807 with the district of Dinajpur. In 1808 he visited Rangpur and halted at Gowalpara in Assam. With the dry season of 1808 he recommenced the survey of Rangpur, and when the rainy season of 1809 approached, he "retired to a house near the town of Rangpur, and there continued in a situation not very favourable for a botanist, until I had time left only to convey me to Purneah before the dry weather of 1809 should commence."¶ During the rains of 1810 he stayed at Nathpur on the borders of Nepal, and in the same year he explored Bhagalpur, spending part of 1811 at Monghyr. In 1811-12 he explored Patna and Gya. In 1812-13 he explored Shahabad, and soon after the rainy season of 1813 had begun, he went up to Agra. Before the end of the rains he returned down the Ganges and ascending the Gogra, visited Gorakhpur, and remained there during the dry season of 1813-14.

"When the rainy season commenced, I again embarked and proceeded up the Ganges to Fatehgarh. . . ."

"I was now exhausted by long continued exertion; the observation of plants making but a small part of my duty || and I required to pass

* Buchanan published his account of Nepal at Edinburgh in 1819.

† The Despatch of the Court was dated 7th January 1807.

‡ This name occurs in the Vrihat Sanhita of Varaha Mihira.

¶ The paper read before the Society was mainly a botanical one, and these introductory remarks were made to show, how he had acquired a knowledge of Indian botany.

|| As. Researches, V. 123.

the remainder of my days at peace in my native climate. I accordingly returned to Calcutta to prepare for my journey, and in the meantime, on the death of Dr. Roxburgh, took charge of the Botanical Gardens, having been appointed his successor by the Court of Directors. While preparing for my journey, I was deprived by the Marquis of Hastings of all the botanical drawings which had been made under my inspection during my last stay in India; otherwise they would have been deposited with my other collections in the Library of the India House. By this ill-judged act of authority, unworthy of this nobleman's character, the drawings will probably be totally lost to the public. To me as an individual, they were of no value, as I preserve no collection, and as I have no occasion to convert them into money. In February 1815, I embarked for Europe, and in September, presented my whole collections to the Court of Directors with an order from the Lords of the Treasury for their being delivered free from duty—an order which was granted with the utmost liberality and urbanity."

The above detail shows what a large experience Buchanan had of India, and the use which he made of his opportunities well entitles him to the appellation of "the unwearied investigator," which the great geographer Carl Ritter has bestowed upon him. Buchanan was not a scholar, but he was an active minded man, a naturalist and keen observer, and one who took an interest in everything, from Sanskrit inscriptions to silkworms. His first publication (after his medical thesis) seems to have been a short paper on the Launzan tree.* The next was on a philological subject, being "A Comparative Vocabulary of some of the Languages spoken in the Burman Empire."† The third was an elaborate disquisition on the religion and literature of the Burmas. Buchanan makes a slip in speaking of his having taken charge of the Botanic Gardens on the death of Roxburgh. —Roxburgh left India for ever in 1803, and according to Chambers' Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotchmen, Buchanan was appointed his successor in 1807. Buchanan seems to have taken charge of the Gardens in 1814, and at all events he went home in February 1815. But Roxburgh did not die till 18th February 1815 (at Edinburgh) and of course his death was not known in India till many months afterwards. I am unable to say whether Buchanan's remarks about the conduct of the Marquis of Hastings are just or not, but if the Marquis's action was dictated by a desire to keep the drawings in India, and for the benefit of the Botanic Gardens, then I should be inclined to think that he was right in preventing their removal to England.

It appears from the Despatch of 7th January 1807, that Buchanan was chosen to superintend the survey on account of his having been employed by the Marquis of Wellesley in the survey of Mysore, and because the Marquis had confided to him the charge of the establishment which he had formed at

* As. Researches, V. 219.

† As. Researches, VI. 163.

Barrackpore for investigating the natural history of India. His remuneration was Rs. 1,500 sicca a month exclusive of the pay and *batta* of his rank, and he was also allowed an establishment of a pandit and draughtsman, &c. The whole expenditure on the seven years' survey came to about £30,000. The records of the survey were sent home in 1816, and then remained almost totally neglected for many years. From a paper by Colebrooke in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, it appears that Buchanan endeavoured to have his reports published, for we are told there that the Court of Directors had, at his instance, sanctioned a liberal communication of the information contained in them to the Society. Accordingly four papers were published in the first and second volumes of the Transactions on antiquarian subjects, *viz.*, on inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar,* on Jain temples in South Bihar and Bhagalpur, on the Sravacs or Jains, and on the ruins of Buddha Gya. All these were edited by Colebrooke, but it does not appear that either he or his Society attempted to deal with the statistical portion of Buchanan's reports. It is much to be regretted that Colebrooke did not take up this subject. It lay in the direction of his own early studies, for his first work was on Bengal Husbandry, and it can hardly have been want of time that prevented him, for he lived till 1837. His latter years, however, were clouded by law-suits, by deaths of sons, and by ill-health.

It is perhaps singular that Buchanan did not make more persistent efforts to have his reports made use of. One thinks that if he had done so, he would have been successful. He survived his return to Scotland for many years, not dying till 15th June 1829. During most of that time he resided at Leny near Callander. We are told that he married late in life, and had children, and that he occupied himself in gardening. In the British Museum there is a letter of his in a feeble handwriting, dated Leny, 8th February 1820, forwarding a presentation copy of his *Genealogies of the Hindus*. This work, of which only fifty copies were made, was printed at Edinburgh in 1819. It consists of tables of Hindu dynasties extracted from the Puranas, &c., by his Pandit, and is accompanied by an introduction and an index in a separate volume. It would seem that the subject of Hindu genealogies set him upon thinking about his own family, for his last publication was, a "Claim of Dr. Francis Hamilton Buchanan to be considered as chief of the name as male representative of the

* I. 201. Inscriptions upon rocks in South Bihar, described by Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, and explained by H. T. Colebrooke, Director. Read December 4, 1821. Republished in Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, III. 256, ed. 1873.

family of Buchanan of Buchanan." It was printed at Edinburgh in 1826. Buchanan was the third son of Dr. Thomas Buchanan* of Spittal. After his return to Scotland he took his mother's name of Hamilton, and is often spoken of as Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton. It may be worth while noting that he was in no way connected with Claudius Buchanan, who was also a distinguished Scots-Indian, and a contemporary of Francis. But Claudius was the son of a schoolmaster and born at Cambuslang near Glasgow in 1766. Apparently he was one of the good fruits of the famous "Camb'slang Wark" of 1742, his maternal grandfather Claudius Somers having been an elder of the church there at the time of Whitfield's visit. Claudius Buchanan had an adventurous and useful life, and died at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire in 1815.

Apparently it was in India that the first use was made of the Buchanan Records. In 1831 the manuscript account of Dinajpur was made over by Mr. George Swinton, the Chief Secretary to Government, to Captain Herbert, who published it along with his "Gleanings in Science" and the Asiatic Society's Journal. The papers were then collected into a volume and published in 1833. In the preface it is stated that the original records of Buchanan's investigations, occupying twenty-five folio volumes, were sent to the Court of Directors, "a copy of the whole having been previously made and deposited in the office of the Chief Secretary at Calcutta." In fact, there are twenty-six folios in the India Office. That is, there are twenty-two volumes of MS. in one press, including a thin volume of statistics relating to Dinajpur, and in another there are four handsomely bound volumes of drawings, &c. The first of these contains the costumes of Bihar; the second, figures and architecture; the third, maps and plans, and the fourth, inscriptions. All the inscriptions are in Sanscrit† except the first, which is a Persian inscription from Gorakhpur, and relates to a mosque erected by the Emperor Babar. It was translated for Buchanan by a Mr. Moodie, and bears the date 923 or 935 (1517 or 1529).

The important point in the Calcutta preface is the statement, that a copy of the reports was deposited in the Secretariat

* Buchanan's father was twice married, and Elizabeth Hamilton was his second wife. Buchanan's object in the pamphlet is to show that he is lineally descended from Walter of Spittal, who was the son of Walter Buchanan, of Buchanan and Spittal, who lived in the year 1519.

† One from Buddh-Gya, and built into the wall of the Gosain's convent there, is supposed by Buchanan to be in Pali: it is No. III. It is much to be desired that the volume of inscriptions, and also that of figures, should be examined by a competent scholar. Book III contains plans of the Assam Valley by Ensign Wood. There is also a plan of Bankipore, with notes in Persian.

there. No doubt this is why the reports were not sent home till 1816. It is evident that the Calcutta copy was in existence, in part at least, up to 1832.

As the survey began with Dinajpur, it was probably intended that other volumes should be published afterwards. Unfortunately this was not done. But I beg to suggest that search should be made for the other folios. If not in the Bengal Secretariat, they may be forthcoming in that of the Government of India.

In 1838, Montgomery Martin published portions of the Buchanan MSS in the three volumes of "Eastern India." He has been blamed for substituting his own name for Buchanan's in the title-page. The procedure was foolish; but I do not think that Mr. Martin had any intention of passing off the books as his own, or of depriving Buchanan of the credit due to him, for, in his introduction to the concluding volume, he calls himself only the editor, and says that Dr. Buchanan's name will need no eulogy so long as such a monument of him exists as these three volumes of "Eastern India." He makes this remark *apropos* of his abortive attempt to procure materials for a Memoir of Buchanan. I may remark that such a memoir now exists in Chambers' Biographies of Eminent Scotchmen. Buchanan's name, along with that of Claudius Buchanan, is also to be found in the National Dictionary of Biography, though the writer (Sir Alexander Arbuthnot) is unaware of the existence of "Eastern India," and speaks of Buchanan's investigations having apparently been only made use of in the account of Dinajpur published at Calcutta! There is also a notice of Buchanan in Higginbotham's "Men whom India has known." Montgomery Martin has also been blamed for suppressing much of the MS. Of course he has abridged, for he has tried to put the substance of twenty-two folios of manuscript into three octavoes.* But the omissions are less material than might be supposed. There is a good deal of repetition in Buchanan, and some portions of his folios are taken up with his journal, *e. g.*, his Bhagalpur and Shahabad Journal, which does not contain anything material that is not also in his report. The published report of Mysore is in the form of a journal, and it is the opinion of Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, that the book would have been far more useful, if the journal had been recast and condensed. Much space is taken up in the folios with indices, and lists of words in the Bengali character. There is also an account of Nepal in the Purniah MS. Vol. III, which probably has been incorporated in his book published in 1819. On the whole, I have not found that Mr. Martin has suppressed

* Each page of Martin is equal to about three pages of the M.S.

much of value in the historical or antiquarian chapters. For instance, there are no suppressions in the account of Gaur, which by the way, is to be found in the Purniah volumes. The most serious omissions are in the accounts of Patna and Shahabad. There Mr. Martin has drawn his pencil through much interesting matter, though in not a few cases he has afterwards repented and written "stet." In all the volumes he has omitted a good deal of the descriptive matter, and he has greatly abridged the elaborate account of castes which occurs in the first of the three volumes relating to Purniah. Still one is disposed to feel grateful to Mr. Martin for having done something. He certainly did more to make Buchanan known and useful, than either the Calcutta Secretariat, the Court of Directors, or the Royal Asiatic Society. It was not his fault, perhaps, that he was not an Orientalist, and his happy audacity in undertaking the work has done more good, than the reticence of better informed and more cautious men. Where, however, he certainly failed in one of the elementary duties of an editor, was in not making an index, Owing to the want of this I have several times imagined that his omissions were greater than is really the case.

I do not suppose that Government would now incur the expense of publishing the whole of the Buchanan MS. Nor is it I think, desirable that this should be done. What is wanted is a new edition of "Eastern India." I doubt, however, if any editor working in England could be sure that nothing of value was omitted. If the manuscript is still in Calcutta, a good plan might be to send the volumes for each district to the local officers, along with the corresponding volume of "Eastern India," for correction and revision. There is much in Buchanan's account of the courses of the rivers, and of the parganas and estates, which can be appreciated and commented upon only by persons possessed of local knowledge.

I now proceed to give some extracts from the unpublished portion of the Buchanan MS. The first which I shall give relates to the discovery of two statues now in the Indian Museum. These have been described in Dr. Anderson's Catalogue * of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum, and in Sir A. Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports, Vol. XV, p. 1, but neither author was aware of the circumstances of their disinterment.

Patna M. S. vol. I, p. 122.

"In the Ganges opposite to the suburb above the town, I found a stone image lying by the water's edge when the river was at the lowest. It has represented a male standing, with two arms and one head, but the arms and feet have been broken. The face is also much mutilated.

* Part I. 151, Calcutta, 1883.

It is nearly of a natural size and very clumsy, and differs from most Hindu images that I have seen, in being completely formed, and not carved in relief with its hinder parts adhering to the block from whence it had been cut. On the back part of the scarf which passes round its shoulder, are some letters which I have not been able to have explained, and too much defaced to admit of being copied with absolute precision. Some labourers, employed to bring this image to my house, informed me that it had been some years ago taken from a field on the south side of the suburbs, and had been intended for an object of worship; but that a great fire having happened on the day when it was removed, the people were afraid, and threw it into the sacred river. They also informed me that in the same field the foot of another image projected from the ground, and that many years ago a Mr. Hawkins^{*} had removed a third. On going to the place I could plainly discover that there had been a small building of brick, perhaps 50 or 60 feet in length, but most of the materials have been removed. On digging, I found the image to be exactly similar to that which I found in the river, but somewhat larger. The feet are entire and some parts of the arms remain, but the head has been removed. On its right shoulder is placed something which seems intended to represent a Thibet bull's tail. This is an insignia of the Yatis, or priests of Jain, but in other respects the images have little resemblance to such persons, one of whom is represented in the drawing No. 132. I rather suppose that these images have been intended as an ornament to the temple, and to represent the attendants on some god whose image has been destroyed. In the drawing No. 2, the images have been represented with the inscription on the smaller; that on the larger is totally illegible."

This account takes us back to 1811-12, which was the time when Buchanan explored Patna. It also shows that the third statue had been removed many years before. All that Dr. Anderson's industry could discover in the records of the Asiatic Society was, that the statues had been presented to the Society in 1820 by Mr. J. Tytler. Mr. Tytler presented these at the request of his brother Robert Tytler, and mentioned in the letter, that he understood that, long before they came into his possession, they were dug out of a field near Patna, and that on the same spot there was a third image still unremoved. We now know that Buchanan had the merit of rescuing one of the statues from the Ganges, and that the third statue probably disappeared in the last century. Rajah Rajendra Lal Mittra furnished Dr. Anderson with a tentative translation of the inscriptions on the statues. Sir A. Cunningham has also a reading of the letters. In his opinion the statues are those of Yakshas.

There are drawings of the two statues in Book II. They are evidently the same as those figured in Vol. XV, Plate II, of the *Archæological Reports*. The drawing is endorsed No. 2, Shaha-

* It appears from Dodwell and Miles, that a civilian named Francis Hawkins entered the service in 1783, and was Collector of Bihar in 1798, and Judge of Appeal at Patna in 1808. He seems to have remained there till 1811. Perhaps this was the Mr. Hawkins referred to.

bad, and also with the words "Images found at Patna." But it is not No. 2 in the book. It occurs just after the drawing of Ghyassuddin's Mosque, and is No. 39 in the order of drawings.

The drawing also gives a copy of the letters on one of the figures. Cunningham considers that the third statue is still lying at Agamkua, but this is disputed by Dr. Waddell.

The above quotation from the MS. should have appeared in Vol. I of Martin, p. 42. In the MS. it comes just after the words, "nothing has been discovered to indicate large or magnificent buildings."

The next extract also deals with Patna—

"In the suburbs, at a little distance from the eastern gate, are two heaps called Mathni, which are supposed to be of Hindu origin, but there is no tradition concerning the person by whom they were built, and their size is trifling. South from these heaps is a very considerable heap, which, with some small eminences in the neighbourhood, are called the five hills,* and are attributed to the five sons of Pandu. But this is probably an idle fable. One is at least 100 feet in perpendicular height and has no hollow on its top, so that I suspect it to have been a solid temple of the Buddhas. The others are almost level with the soil, and have probably been houses for the accommodation of religious men. It is said by the peasants of the neighbourhood, that they consist entirely of brick, but the owner of the larger obstinately refused his consent to allow me to dig for its examination.

I cannot learn any tradition concerning the island Sambhalpur, opposite to Patna, having ever been a town, nor, as far as I can learn, are any ceremonies performed there, as Major Wilford had heard.† Then comes passage in Martin, p. 42 of Vol. I "It need not be wondered," &c.

The next extract refers to the temple of Pataneshwari, in Patna, and mentions the singular circumstance, that the idol worshipped there as a goddess is a Buddha. The passage occurs at p. 117 of the MS. corresponding to p. 42 of Martin's. After the words "or the son of Patali," come the words (not in Martin) "but I have not been able to learn anything concerning the time when Rajah Sundar Sen lived." Then follows the sentence: "The building is small but avowedly recent, and erected at the expense of the priests. Far from acknowledging the story of the Patali, they allege that their deity has existed here since the origin of things." The MS. then proceeds thus:—

"This, in India, is an usual pretence, but there is a circumstance attending the tutelar deity of this city, that in most parts is not so ordinary, although very much so in these districts. The image (see drawing No. 124) called a goddess, is a male, and is no doubt a representation of a Buddha, and probably of Gautama, as he has seated by him two disciples, as usual in Ava. Near the throne is placed a female

* The Panchpahari.

† Wilford does not say that any ceremonies of games are now performed on the island. He only speaks of past times. See *As. Researches*, V 275.

deity, but this is not the object of worship, and represents, I have no doubt, Semiramis seated on a lion, and on her knees holding the infant Niniyas (See drawing No. 125). The Pandas or priests are Kanauj Brahmans, and many goats are sacrificed on Saturdays and Tuesdays, but they have no endowment. The little goddess was placed in her present situation by Man Singh, while that noble Hindu had the Government of Behar. The temple is of no great consequence, but is much more frequented than that of the great goddess, and the priest, who is a Kanauj Brahman, is supposed to have very considerable profit. The Pataneshwaries are properly the gram-devatas, but as the worship of these deities is not fashionable in Bihar, this is considered by many as a term too degrading. Still, however, many are aware of the circumstance; but Guriya, Pir Dumurya, Ram Thakur Damuvir, Sam Singh, Beni Madhab, Bhikari Kumar, Surya Devata, Kuruvir, Patalvir, Jalapa, &c., are all appealed to as gram-devatas."

The drawings Nos. 124 and 125 are in the book of figures and support the above description, though there is no name to suppose that the female is Semiramis.

"Near the eastern gate, in the suburbs, is a small temple at Gauri and Sangkar, but the image represents only the generative organs of these deities. Every Monday in Srawan from 1,000 to 5,000 votaries assemble and make offerings. The priest is a gardener. At the north-east corner of the city, at a place where some lady, name unknown, was burnt with her husband's corpse, 50,000 people assemble once a year and make offerings. On the great days of bathing in the Ganges most people cross to the junction of the Gandaki, but on a certain day about 10,000 women assemble and bathe at a ghat in the west end of the city."

This extract is followed by a description of the Sikh temple. The next extract relates to Gya. Mr. Martin has omitted a good deal of the report of this district. For instance, pp. 208-231, 278-306, 338-349 and 356-378 of the MS. have been almost entirely omitted. They relate to the places of pilgrimage at Gya, Buddha-Gya, Rajgriha, the tomb of Sharaff-uddin at Bihar, the hot springs, &c. The account of Buddh-Gya, however, is to be found in the paper in the 2nd volume* of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. The following passage occurs in the account of the temple of Vishnupad at Gya, p. 209 of MS.

"Near this terrace is lying a broken pillar on which there is an inscription in an old character, of which a copy is given in Drawing No. 20. It seems to consist of two distinct parts. In one is mentioned a Javana Raja Deva, of a country called Khas,† but he takes no titles to imply his having been a king. It is dated Samvat 1327 (A. D. 1270)."

* II. 40.

† Lassen I, 57 and 70 n., considers Khas as an aboriginal word, and points to its occurrence in Khasia, &c. Dera Khawaspur is the name of an island in the Ganges near Karagola. Tanda, too, used to be called Khawaspur Tanda. I believe that the name has been perpetuated in Gwás, which is the name of a large pargana in eastern Murshidabad. There was a General of Sher Shah called Khawas Khan.

There is a copy of this inscription in Book IV. It is No. 20, and is entitled "an inscription on a broken stone lying in the Court of the Vishnupad, near the Ganesa." At p. 213 of the MS., mention is made of an inscription of the date of the 15th year of Naya Pala Deva. A copy is given at No. 29.

In his report on Shahabad, I. p. 84, Buchanan describes three inscriptions. The account begins at p. 84 and then is continued at omission No. I after p. 307. The first is on a rock at Tara Chándi,* near Sassaram, and on the road from there to Rohtas. The second is on a rock in the Sone at Bandu Ghat near Rohtas, and opposite to Jápil. The third is in the same neighbourhood, and is on a rock above a pool sacred to Totala Devi. All these are in Sanscrit, and are Nos. 2, 15 and 14 of the Book of Inscriptions. No. 2 is the most interesting, and is the one of which Colebrooke has given a translation.† It appears that Buchanan's Pandit altogether misunderstood this inscription, and led Buchanan to suppose that it had been put up by the father of Vijaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj. In fact, Pratap Dhavala, the author of the inscription, was no way related to Vijaya Chandra. He was the chieftain of Japil and seems to have been a haughty and plain spoken noble, somewhat after the fashion of Götz von Berlichingen. The object of the inscription, which is both in verse and prose, is to warn his descendants, that some thievish priests have no right to two villages. The prose part is as follows, according to Colebrooke's translation :—

"The feet of the sovereign of Japila, the great chieftain, the fortunate Pratapa Dhavala Deva, declare the truth to his sons, grandsons and other descendants sprung of his race ; this ill copper (grant) of the villages of Kālahauti and Badayita, obtained by fraud and perjury from the thievish slaves of the fortunate Vijaya Chandra the king, sovereign of Kanyakubja, by Swallahariya folks ; no faith is to be put therein. These priests are every way libertines. Not so much land as might be pierced by a needle point is theirs. Knowing this, you will take the share ‡ of profits and other dues, or destroy. (Signature) of the great Rajaputra (king's son) the fortunate Satrugna."

The other part of the inscription gives the date, *viz.*, Samvat 1229 (1173 A. D.) Iyest'ha, Badi, 3rd Wednesday. Colebrooke mentions in a note at p. 462 of the Transactions, that Vijaya Chandra was the father of Jaya Chandra, the king of Kanauj, who was killed by the Muhammadans in 1194.

Inscription No. 14, *i. e.* the one near Totala Devi's pool, is still older, the date on it being 1215 (1158 A. D). It also

* "In a narrow passage which separates the northern end of the hills from the great mass."

† Transactions, R. A. S., I. 201.

‡ It would seem from this that the system of a division of crops is of old standing in Bihar.

mentions Pratap Dhavala with the title of Naik (or leader) and gives the name of his wife (Sulhi), of another female (Somali) and of six sons and four daughters. His younger brother Tribhuvan is also mentioned, as well as the treasurer and the keeper of the gate (to Rohtas?). It seems that in the middle of the inscription there is a rude figure of Totala Devi, which purports to have been made by the family priest Viswampa. Colebrooke has given an abstract of the Sanscrit portion of the inscription, but Buchanan says that—

“Under it there are some inscriptions in a Nagari character abundantly legible, but in some language which is totally unintelligible to the Pandit of the Survey, and probably that which was spoken by the tribe to which Pratapa Dhavala belonged. Many of the names in this family are barbarous and are still in common use among the Rahtor Rajputs in the west, to which tribe it is indeed said this family belonged. Some persons of that tribe with whom I lately met, understood several words in the parts of the inscription, which to the Pandit are unintelligible, but, being all illiterate men, they could not explain the whole.”

The inscription is in the Tilotha thána at a place where the Tutrahi, a branch of the Kudra, flows down the hills.

It may be here noted that there is some confusion between inscriptions Nos. 13 and 14, and that Colebrooke has slightly altered Buchanan's phraseology. In reality there are two inscriptions at Totala Devi's pool. One is on the rock alongside of the old representation of the goddess, and is the No. 14 just described. The other is apparently No. 13, but, being very short, it is to be found in the Book of Figures, *viz.*, No II, under the drawing of the new image of the goddess. The drawing and inscription are given in Martin, Vol. I., but he wrongly catalogues it as Plate No. 9. It is No. 2 of Plate V, p. 456.

“The image and inscription are on a slab carved in relief. It represents Totala Devi or Bhawani killing a buffalo-demon (Mcheshásur). The date on the inscription is 1389 Samvat, or 1332 A. D.”

Inscription No. 15 is, according to Buchanan, upon a rock or stone in the Sone, and not on its bank as stated by Colebrooke. It is situated near Bandu or Bandhu Ghat (also called Manda Ghat by Buchanan) near Rohtas, and apparently opposite to the confluence of the Koel and Sone. It is near a lingam known by the name of Dasasirsa.

Buchanan's description is as follows:—

“Another inscription illustrates much further the history of this family (Pratap Dhavala). It is found on a rock in the Son at Bandhu Ghat opposite to Japil. and in the country it is usually alleged that, when any governor of Rohtasgar died, his name spontaneously appeared on the rock and formed the inscription of which a copy is given in the 15th drawing. It, in fact, seems to relate to the persons who have governed the fortress and the neighbouring country. At the top, this inscription mentions that Maharaj Singjamata * Raj, and

* Colebrooke reads the name as Nyunata Rai, or Nyunta Raya.

Maharaj Pratap Raj went to (here the M. S. turns back to p. 85) heaven in the year 1646 (1589) and that in the year 1626 (1569) they had been preceded by Pratapa Rudra. These persons being after the time when Sher Shah reduced Rohtas (A. D. 1539) are of little importance, and have no titles of consequence. As they are followed by a very different description of personages, I presume these three names have been prefixed in after times, and that the inscription originally commenced as follows."

Buchanan then gives a list containing the names of eleven Mahanripatis, the second of whom, Protap Dhaval, is said to have reigned 21 years up to Samvat 1219 * (A. D. 1162). Then come the name of four Dwarpáls or gatekeepers, whom Buchanan supposes to have been the warders of the four principal passes to Rohtas. After them come the names of several Maharajas, ending with Mandan Singh, Samvat 1653, (A. D. 1596). There is also a reference to the mild government of Man Singh, and a list of priests, astrologers, &c.

Buchanan conjectures that the last of the eleven Mahanripatis, *viz.*, Udai Chandra, may have been the prince from whom Sher Shah took the fortress by a treacherous stratagem. In the second volume of the report on Shahabad, pp. 162-64, Buchanan gives an account of a family which claims descent from Pratap Dhavala. Colebrooke describes it as the family possessing the principality of Bilonja.

I am not aware whether these inscriptions have been copied by Mr. Beglar, or whether they have been published. If they have not, Buchanan's copies in the India Office might be advantageously referred to. Mr. Fleet has noticed and described a seal-matrix of Mahananta Sasánka, which Mr. Beglar has discovered, carved on the rock at Rohtas. It has been supposed to refer to the Sasánka of Karna Suvarna mentioned by Hiuen Thsang, but it may be as well to note that there was, according to Buchanan,† a Khatauri Rajah of Kharakpur, named Sasangka‡ who was put to death by his servants in 1503 (910 Fusli).

The Bhagalpur volumes contain the reports on Rajmahal and the Sonthal Parganas. There is much interesting matter in them, but most of it has been given by Martin. There is a curious legend about the origin of the name Teliyagarhi, which Martin has not reproduced, but it is too long for extract in the present place. The only extracts which I shall give are a short account of an old fort called Lakragar, and a reference to pargana Mangalpur. Lakragar was situated in the Rajmahal hills, and it seems to me very likely that it is the

* Colebrooke thinks that the date is probably 1229 (1172).

† This certainly may be the Sasánka of the tank in Bogra, if indeed Sosong Díghi means Sasánka's tank. Arch: Reports, XV. 102.

‡ M. S. Bhagalpur, I. 183.

Lakhnor of Minhajaddin which has so long been vainly sought for. See Cunningham, Arch. Reports, XV. 44, for an endeavour to identify it with Kakjol.* The passage in Buchanan is Bhaugulpore II., 296.

"The only antiquity in this division is Lakragar, an old fort in the central arable land, where a Rajah of the Nát tribe, termed Duriyan Singha resided, and governed the mountains as well as the Nâts, some of whom remain in the vicinity, and seem originally to have been of the same race with the mountaineers. He was driven out by the Khatauris who now possess the country, and who had a fort at Majhuya, about two miles from the former. There they resided for some generations, until the father of the present Zamindar, being inflamed with jealousy, excited the mountaineers to murder a Mogal officer. After this, the mountaineers discovering the imbecility of Government, became too turbulent for the management of the zamindar, who was compelled to retire to the low country."

It may be noted that there is also a thana in South Bhagulpore which goes by the name of Lakaradiwani.

In the first volume of Bhagalpur, Buchanan describes pargana Mangalpur, in Sarkar Orambar,† and says that the original proprietors belonged to the medical tribe (the Seins) and that they had no doubt possessed it for a very long time, and that they claimed descent from the Hindu Kings of Bengal. "The present members of the family have become mere peasants, and in their accounts contradict all chronology and probability. One of them told me that he was the 25th in descent from Mangal Sen, who married a daughter of Lakhyan (Lakshman) the king. This Mangal having gone on a pilgrimage to Benares and other places, when he returned, found his estate in possession of a Tiyar, whom he had left in charge, but who refused to deliver up the land to his master. On this Mangal applied to Husein (one of the last Mahammeden Kings of Bengal)."

No doubt if Mangal was the son-in law of Lakshman, he must have lived long before Husein Shah, and the mention of his name is probably only an instance of the Bengal habit of ascribing every thing to Husein Shah. But the interesting thing is that, Buchanan's informant, Mahan Rai, gave a list of his twenty-four ancestors, and that their names are preserved in the Buchanan M. S. Another descendant of Mangal Sein told Buchanan that his ancestor received the estate in the 624th year of the Bengal era (A. D. 1217). Buchanan recurs to the subject in the second volume at p. 278, where he men-

* At p. 313 of 2nd Vol. on Purniah, Buchanan describes Kakjol, and says it originally belonged to two Rarhi Brahmans, Ganeshyam and Mohesh, and that the former having been deprived of his estate by his brother, went to Delhi and got a grant of $7\frac{1}{2}$ parganas. He turned Muhammadan and took the name of Abdullah.

† This is the way in which Buchanan spells Sarkar Audambar.

tions Mangalpur as having been the residence of Lakshman Sein's son-in-law.

I have looked to see whether Buchanan said anything about the ancient kingdom of Khajogara mentioned by Hiuen Thsang, and which Vivien Saint-Martin proposed to identify with the Cudjery* of Rennell. But I cannot find anything on the point. He however mentions a large tract of country, extending on both sides of the Gumani river, which is known, as Tappa Kangjiyali. This is the Big and Little Kangjiyali of Hunter,† and may be the missing kingdom. Buchanan also speaks of a river called the Kangjiya.

The following extracts are from the volumes on Purniah. The first is from addition No. II, to the topography of Purniah, page 353 of Vol. I, and relates to the Pal Rajahs :—

“There can, I think, be little doubt but that the Pal Rajahs possessed the whole of Mithila, and confined the Kirats within the limits of their mountains. The Brahmans of Magadha still form a considerable part of the agricultural population, and although there are no traces of works attributed to the Pal Rajahs themselves, there are many remains attributed to chiefs of these Brahmans, probably descendants of the nobles of the Pal Rajahs, some of whom retained more or less independence until a much later date, and after the overthrow of the dynasty of Adisur, seem to have recovered much authority.”

Then follows, “in the confusion which immediately followed the overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Bengal,” as in Martin p. 46.

The next extract relates to the Muhammadan town of Tanda,‡ whose site has now been swept away by the river, but which lay in what is now the district of Maldah.

“The only ruin is that of Tāngra, a place of no considerable antiquity.§ When the family of Sher Shah was deprived of the Government of India by the Mogul Humayun, the Kingdom of Bengal again threw off its subjection to Delhi, and the new dynasty left Gaur and retired across the old Ganges to Tāngra. The distance is so small that they could not be said to have changed the seat of Government, but only to have built a new palace or country residence, and,

* The chart of R. H. Colebrooke, Surveyor-General, in 7th Vol. of Asiatic Researches, is better than Rennel's. Colebrooke's survey was in 1796-97. He spells the name Cajureah, and represents it as below Farrakhabad and on a char. I doubt its ever having been a place of importance.

† In the Sonthal Parganas.

‡ When Fitch visited Tanda in 1587, it was a league from the Ganges.

§ According to Wilford, Asiatic Researches, XIV, 419, it is old, and was the Tondota of Ptolemy. Wilford's conjectures are always interesting, and sometimes they seem very happy. His identification of Katadupa with Katwa has been thought probable by Vivien Saint-Martin. In Asiatic Researches, V 269, he suggests that pargana Gankar, in Jungypur Sub division, is the origin of the word Gangaridae. Gankar is certainly a very old and large pargana, and Lassen does not believe that the word Gangaridae was coined by the Greeks from Ganges.

although Gaur is said to have been plundered by the first of these princes, it was by no means destroyed, nor did the people follow the Court to Tāngra, which would never appear to have been a large place. Nor are there any considerable ruins to denote that these princes lived in splendour or erected great works. Their government was indeed remarkably insecure, but they seem to have been men of vigour, and notwithstanding their want of security from the intrigues of their officers, resisted the efforts of the great Akbar for half his reign. The contemptuous manner in which the courtly Abul Fazl mentions these princes, is a pretty convincing proof of the vexation which they had given to his king. Tāngra stood west from Gaur, opposite to the suburb of Firozpur, and to the southern part of the city."

Buchanan spells Tanda টান্ডা . The extract is from Vol. I., p. 353, and is in the account of the division of Kalya Chak. At p. 250 of Vol. I., Buchanan notes that in his account of Rangpur, he has mentioned that Husein Shah, King of Gaur, was born in the division of Boda in that district. He then goes on to say that, immediately on the borders of that territory, but on the Purniah side of the Karatoya, there is a fort called Gāngrárigar (spelt in margin in Bengali as Gánrigar) which is said to have been built by Husein Shah's mother. The notice of Husein Shah's birthplace here referred to, is to be found in Vol. I, p. 215 of the MS. account of Rangpur, and has been published by Montgomery Martin, III, p. 448. It is to the effect that Husein Shah was born at Dev' Nagar, about sixteen miles north of Kumarirkoth. I do not know whether this statement has ever been properly noticed. If not, it is desirable that inquiries should be made about it in Boda, for everything connected with Husein Shah is interesting.* The statement in the Riyaz-us-Salatin, p. 131, is that Husein Shah, his brother Yusuf, and his father Saiyid Ashraf, came from Termiz (a town on the Oxus, and north of Balkh) and settled at Chandpur (Chandpara) in the Rárh country, *i. e.*, in the Sub-division of Jungypur. But this does not absolutely contradict Buchanan's account, and may also be partially incorrect. According to Buchanan, Husein Shah's grandfather was Sultan Ibrahim, and was killed by Jallalludin. Relying upon the Riyaz, I formerly thought that this was wrong, and that the only Sultan Ibrahim was the ruler of Jaunpur. But it now seems not improbable that it is the author of Riyaz who is incorrect. It is certain that his chronology is at fault. The Jaunpur histories seem to make no mention of any attack on Bengal by Sultan Ibrahim, and the one which is referred to by Abd-ar-Razzak in the Matla-Assadin† as having been made or contemplated, seems to have occurred about 1440,

*The Dinajpur reports contain one or two notices of Husein Shah's sons-in-law.

† See Major's India in the 15th Century.

and therefore long after the time of Rajah Kans or Ganesh, and his son Jallalluddin. The attack was averted by the intervention of Shah Rukh, son of Taimur, and many years after the death of the saintly Nur Qutb. It is then possible that there were two Ibrahims, and that the one of Jallalluddin's time was Husein Shah's grandfather.

The next extract is from the long account of Castes in Vol. I, of the Purniah Report. It occurs at p. 370 and refers to the Sarvariya, a cast which sprung into existence out of the great famine of 1770:—

"In the terrible famine which happened in the year of the Bengal era 1177 (A. D. 1770) many Hindus, unable to resist the cravings of appetite, ate food from impure hands and lost caste. These and their descendants have now united into one tribe, which is called Sarvariya,

সরবরিয়া because, in every revolution of sixty years, a famine or some other great calamity is supposed to occur in the year called Sarvariya, as happened at the time above-mentioned. The Sarvariya amount to about 130 or 140 families, confined to the western parts of the district. They have instructors and priests of their own. They now follow the Hindu customs so far as to abstain from beef, but eat everything else. They cultivate the land."

It would be interesting to know if this caste still exists. I have not found the name in the report on the Census of 1891. In his book on Castes, Mr. Risley has the heading Sarwaria or Saryapari, and describes it as a sub-caste of Kanaujia Brahmans and Telis in Bihar. This seems to be the caste mentioned by Buchanan, but its origin has probably been forgotten. The name comes from Sarvarin, which is the 34th year of the Brihaspati Chakra or Jovial Cycle. The cycle consists of sixty years, and every year has a distinct name. It appears from Warren's Kala Sanhita, that Sarvarin and Plava, the 34th and 35th-years of the cycle, corresponded, according to the Bengal reckoning, to 1769-70 A.D. Sarvarin is probably an inauspicious year, for it is derived from Sarvari, meaning night, a word which is supposed to correspond to the Greek Cerberus.

THE KOSI.*

"The Kosi being near the mountains is very subject to sudden and great risings and fallings in its stream, and in summer its water, even at Nathpur, retains a very great coolness. On 12th September, although the river was then uncommonly low, I found its stream in the evening eight degrees of Fahrenheit lower than the stagnant waters in its vicinity. Early in the morning the difference would, of course, be more considerable."

H. BEVERIDGE.

* MS. additions to Topography of Purniah, p. 353.

ART. II.—THE UNKNOWN EROS.

BY COVENTRY PATMORE.

THERE was a time when we had the honour of being instructed by the late John Addington Symonds. We were not among his more favourite pupils, and perhaps scarcely realised at the time what a privilege it was to be instructed by him. But now we know that all the brighter part of our life—all our feeling for Art and all our taste in literature has been somehow influenced by him. And so it has happened that, reading in a magazine article of his, the praise of these poems called the Unknown Eros—we have come to read them, to know them, and to love them. It is true that the *Edinburgh Review*, after selecting one or two of the most obvious of them for 'faint praise,' has damned the rest of them. But this fact may inspire Mr. Patmore's supporters with more confidence. For this Review seems always mindful of the old traditions of the time when it 'snuffed out' John Keats and failed to see any poetry in the 'Ode to Immortality.' And yet it may be said that, most lovers of poetry, if they had to make a selection, would select this ode as the greatest poem of the century.

As the poet of the domestic affections, Mr. Coventry Patmore has attained the dignity of being a classic in his life-time, and his two principal works, the 'Angel in the House' and the 'Victories of Love,' may be purchased for three pence each, at which price nothing that is not a classic can be sold. The 'Unknown Eros' finds a smaller audience and is not yet reduced to this price. It is also necessary to explain to those acquainted with the other volumes, that the poems collected under the latter title have no connection with them. The 'Angel in the House,' which ought to be, and, perhaps, at its low price, is read by most at least of the couples engaged to be married, deals with the loves of one Felix, a small landed proprietor, and one Honoria, the daughter of a Dean. Everything is quite happy and simple. The 'Victories of Love' is a continuation of this. The aforesaid Honoria has a cousin called Frederick Graham, who was in love with her, but, finding that his affections are not returned, bestows them (he being a sailor) on his chaplain's daughter Jane. Considering how light is the touch, there is no where, except in the 'Scenes from Clerical Life,' where a character has been so slightly yet so clearly delineated as this of love. As some of the poems in the 'Unknown Eros' treat of the same sort of subjects, we might expect that they would contain some reference to these people, but this is, we

believe, not the case. Some of the poems might, it is true, be written by any man to any woman, but the general theory of the personal poems in the 'Unknown Eros' is that the poet was first married to one Millicent, who died, and then that he married one Amelia. In the preface it is said that all the poems which are written by the author in what he called 'catalectic' verse, are included. This 'catalexis' means practically that the lines may be of any length that the poet pleases. And it has also suited him to arrange the poems without apparently any regular sequence, logical or otherwise. Those which are most generally interesting are the poems which are personal in character. There are certain 'words' of love addressed either to Millicent or Amelia, or to any one else. There are poems of regret for Millicent, and the gradual process of change by which the poet accommodated himself to the thought of marrying another. Then there is the poem which is called Amelia in which the courtship of the latter is described.

After the proem, in which the poet modestly says—

'Therefore no 'plaint be mine,
Of listeners none,
No hope of render'd use or proud reward
In hasty times and hard ;
But chants as of a lovely thrush's throat
At latest eve,
That does in each calm note
Both joy and grieve ;
Notes few and strong and fine,
Gilt with sweet day's decline.
And sad with promise of a different sun.'

The other poems open with 'Saint Valentine's Day,' which states that the day of this saint which, as is well-known, is consecrated to love at firstsight, is properly kept in February, when the earth shows of its treasures only the snowdrop—the emblem of virginity—and so appears to be making 'the rash oath of virginity which is first love's first cry.' Even so a maiden may swear that she will never love any one at all, because she already loves some one too much. The 'Day After To-morrow' follows out the idea of Browning's 'Three Days.'

'One day's controlled hope and then one more,
And on the third our lives shall be fulfilled !
Yet all has been before :
Palm placed in palm, twin smiles and words astray,
What other should we say ?'

And there is a poem called 'A Farewell' in which the poet is bidding farewell to some one in the hope, or rather in the sentiment,

'We will not say
There's any hope, it is so far away,'

that, as they are going in opposite directions, they may meet at the antipodes.

These are the chief poems which treat of the affections in general. The death of Millicent is described in 'Departure,' which reproaches her because 'it was all unlike her great and gracious ways,' to go

' With sudden, unintelligible phrase
And frightened eye,
Upon her journey of so many days
Without a single kiss or a good-bye.

And in the 'Azalea,' the poet, in his dreams, confuses the scent of an Azalea at his window with the favourite scent of his lost wife, and awakes to find her absent, and a letter of hers which ends :

' So till to-morrow's eve, my Own, Adieu !
Parting's well paid with soon again to meet,
Soon in your arms to feel so small and sweet,
Sweet to myself that am so sweet to you.'

Even the Edinburgh Review approves of 'The Toys;' and, indeed, this poem has some of the elements of universal popularity such as attend the Pied Piper of Hamelin and the May Queen among those who may not love Browning or Tennyson. It describes how, after the poet had struck his little boy and dismissed him 'with harsh words and unkissed,' for disobedience, he went to see him in bed and found that—

' On a table drawn beside his head,
He had put within his reach,
A box of counters and a red veined stone,
A piece of glass abraded by the beach
And six or seven shells,
A bottle with blue bells
And two French copper coins, ranged there with careful art,
To comfort his sad heart ?

In 'Tired Memory,' however, the poet prays that he may be permitted to crucify himself by bliss in which his lost wife has no part. He knows it is treason, but cannot help it. And then, in 'Amelia,' he describes how he obtained Amelia's mother's permission, by promising to behave as though she were by, to take Amelia to the grave of Millicent. There he put a ring on her finger, and

' Nay, I will wear it for *her* sake,' she said :
' For dear to maidens are their rivals dead.'

And then he kissed her lips three times and her sandalled foot nine times before he determined to keep his promise to her mother. Yet, as a sequel to these, and to show that Millicent was not even then altogether forgotten, there are these lines :

' If I were dead, you'd sometimes say, Poor Child ?'
The dear lips quivered as they spake,

And the tears brake
 From eyes which, not to grieve me, brightly smiled,
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 I seem to hear your laugh, your talk, your song,
 It is not true that love will do no wrong,
 Poor Child !
 And did you think, when you so cried and smiled,
 How I, in lonely nights, should lie awake
 And of those words your full avengers make ?
 Poor Child, poor Child !
 And now unless it be
 That sweet amends thrice told are come to thee,
 O God, have thou *no* mercy upon me !
 Poor Child !'

So much for what we can gather of what may be called the personal history of the poet as disclosed in these poems. It is not at all in accordance with the theories which are elsewhere put forward. Those are called in one place *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore*, or 'delicate morsels of wisdom about love,' and may be described in one word as erotosophy. This word means wisdom as to love, just as theosophy means wisdom as to God. The doctrine laid down in the 'Unknown Eros' itself and in *Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore* is that, generally, it is better to burn than to marry, and that the highest crown of love is unfulfilled desire. Thus the perfect lover is described as :

'Ineffably content from infinitely far
 Only to gaze
 On his bright mistress's responding rays,
 That never know eclipse ;
 And once in his long year
 With præter nuptial ecstasy and fear,
 By the delicious law of that ellipse
 Wherein all citizens of ether move
 With hastening pace to come
 Nearer, though never near,
 His Love
 And always inaccessible-sweet Home.'

And in a poem called 'The Contract' it is said that Eve warned Adam that their spousals should be virgin, and said—

'And when my arms are round your neck like this,
 And I, as now,
 Melt like a golden ingot in your kiss,
 Then, more than ever, shall your splendid word
 Be as Archangel Michael's severing sword !'

And the Unknown Eros itself 'the same tale repeats,' though in rather different tones.

Nevertheless there is another side to this Erotosophy. In certain poems called *Eros and Psyche*, *De Naturâ Deorum*, and so on, there is a description of the loves of Psyche with a god scarce known to her as a god, and of her doubts as to her behaviour, and her visit to a Pythoness for advice. And she is advised by Eros himself—

'To lay her foolish little head to rest
On his familiar breast.'

'Feeling her nothingness her giddiest boast
As being the charm for which he loves her most.'

And by the Pythoness that Eros—

'Ever loves his little maid the more
The more she makes him laugh !'

This, it will be seen, gives quite a different view of the relations between the sexes. Woman is not to be the focus of an ellipse, not the distant object of admiration, but a mere plaything.

There is still another view, more esoteric than these, in a poem called 'Sponsa Dei.' This begins by asking—

'What is this maiden fair,
The laughing of whose eye
Is in man's heart renewed virginity ?'

And proceeds in one of the most melodious passages of modern English verse :—

'What gleams about her shine
More transient than delight and more divine !
If she does something but a little sweet,
As gaze towards the glass to set her hair,
See how his soul falls humbled at her feet !
Her gentle step, to go or come,
Gains her more merit than a martyrdom ;
And if she dance, it doth such grace confer
As opes the heaven of heavens to more than her,
And makes a rival of her worshipper.
To die unknown for her were little cost !
So is she without guile,
Her mere refused smile
Makes up the sum of that which may be lost !

And the answer is :

'What if this Lady be thy soul, and He
Who claims to enjoy her sacred beauty be
Not thou, but God ?'

Which means, apparently, that human love is an Avatar or manifestation of the creative spirit of the Universe : which also is not impossible. This theory would suit with either of the others, but it is not easy to reconcile the teaching, if so it may be called, of the 'Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore' with that of the 'Eros and Psyche' and the 'De Naturâ Deorum.' It may be, indeed, that in the former poem and those connected with it, the duty of man is suggested, while in the 'Eros and Psyche' group, it is indicated how women ought to behave. But we do not ourselves think that the same man who regards women in the higher chivalrous way which is elsewhere suggested, as :

'When to take her hand
Is more of hope than heart can understand ?'

or who thinks of her as :

‘The tear-glad mistress of his hopes of bliss
Too fair for man to kiss,’

would find much delight in that sort of Psyche whose only care is to make him laugh.

And, in another passage which we have failed to find in any of the collected editions of the poet's works, but which is quoted in Mr. Ruskin's ‘Sesame and Lilies,’ he takes a much higher view of woman's mission :

‘Oh wasteful woman ! she who may
On her sweet self set her own price,
Knowing he cannot choose but pay,
How hath she cheapened Paradise !
How given for nought the priceless gift,
How spoiled the bread and spilled the wine,
Which, used with due respective thrift,
Had made beasts men and men divine !’

But the truth seems to be that there is no intention to reconcile the theories. Indeed, the subject of love is full of contradictions. We love woman for ‘her great and gracious ways’ and for her simplicity. We love her because she is like ‘a bright particular star,’ on whom we are content merely to gaze, and because ‘she feels her nothingness her giddiest boast’ and is ready—

‘To lay her foolish little head to rest
On our familiar breast.’

We love her because she is ‘too fair for man to kiss,’ and because she permits us to kiss her ‘sandalled foot.’ We love her for her strength and for her weakness. We love her because we think that we understand her, and most of all, because we feel that we cannot understand her at all.

‘For maidens shine,
As diamonds do,
Which, though most clear,
Are not to be seen through.’

And we think that Mr. Patmore has intended to exhibit the reflections from the facets of those diamonds in varying lights, rather than to focus them into one harmonious whole. So that the conclusion of the whole matter seems to be, that Eros is unknown because he is unknowable.

We have written so much about those poems which appear to have some connection with the title, that now there is little space left in which to discuss the others. Some of these are political, and some religious, and some represent various moods of the poet's mind. The political poems are written from the aristocratic point of view, and exhibit great jealousy of the modern democratic spirit. Thus the year 1867 is spoken of as :

'The year of that great crime
 When the false English nobles and their few,
 By God demented, slew
 The Trust they stood twice pledged to keep from wrong.

The poem called 'Peace' is all in praise of war, as opposed to dishonourable peace, and in '1880-5' there is much praise of England in the past, before the era of the new democracy. In such matters poets are not fit subjects for criticism. They are to be forgiven because they love much, and because they feel for their country as Wordsworth felt—

'What wonder if a poet, now and then,
 Among the many workings of his mind,
 Feels for thee, as a lover or a child?'

More interesting than these, as they are certainly more difficult, are certain poems which appear to be attempting to solve certain psychical problems. In 'Crest and Gulf' it is stated that, whatever a man may do, it is quite impossible to tell what its result will be, and

'Good or evil seed is like to grow
 For its first harvest quite to contraries.'

So, in 'Let Be' we are advised not to interfere with other people, because we cannot tell what they are about, and 'grace may sometimes lurk where who could guess.' And in 'Faint yet Pursuing' thanks are to be given, because things though bad might yet be worse. On the other hand, in 'Victory in Defeat,' it is said that we should never relax our efforts, whatever the result may be, because—

'The man who, though his fights be all defeats,
 Still fights,
 Enters at last
 The heavenly Jerusalem's rejoicing streets
 With glory more, and more triumphant rites,
 Than always conquering Joshua's, when his blast
 The frightened walls of Jericho down cast;
 And lo, the glad surprise
 Of peace beyond surmise
 More than in common saints for ever in his eyes.'

And in the last of this series, the doctrine of election seems to be inculcated. The poem is called 'Remembered Grace,' and it is said 'whom God does once with heart to heart befriend, He does so to the end.'

On the religious poems, generally, I shall forbear to touch. But there is one of them called 'Regina Coeli,' which will have a special charm for those who, at Dresden, have seen the picture of the Madonna whom San Sisto names. For this poem seems to translate into words the supernatural wonder in the face which lives for ever on Raphael's canvas:

'Say, did his sisters wonder what could Joseph see
 In a mild, silent little maid like thee?'

And was it awful in that narrow house
With God for babe and spouse?'

It will be apparent that there is too much sweet in some of the poems. The poet 'makes faint with too much sweet those heavy winged thieves,' words which are the thieves of thought. And some of them are difficult. For it is the practice of certain *fin de siècle* poets, of whom Robert Browning is the greatest, if not the first, to suggest rather than to state, and to appeal to the understanding rather than to the heart. But of such of these poems as are to be found in this volume, we may say, in simili, though not in *pari materiâ*, what has been said of Shakspear's sonnets:

"There are many that will not be understood without some earnestness of thought on the reader's part. But he is not likely to regret the labour."

H. F. T. MAGUIRE.

ART. III.—SONGS OF THE INDIAN STREET.

IT is a matter of regret, that a thick screen must often hang between the Englishman and the native of this country. Of course, there are weighty reasons why the native should find it difficult to make us his confidants. It has been well stated that the road to the heart lies through the stomach. So far, however, from dining in our company, the great mass of natives reject as utterly defiled the food on which even our shadow has fallen. In view of such feelings, there may be deference, and perhaps respect; but confidence must and will remain out of the question. The practical result is that the authorities cannot be in touch with popular feeling to the extent, which is possible to their compeers in Europe. The sources of information open to a police-officer in England are closed to the head of a district. Whatever information he receives, is stamped with the individuality of its bearer. The local paper probably echoes little beyond the murmurings of a handful of pleaders, and of discontented aspirants for the spoils of office. The police-inspector's position contains too much of the *imperium in imperio* to warrant him in giving away every item of information to his superior. He buckles on his sword, gives an extra twist to his turban, practises his salute before a mirror, and rehearses, for his visit, those *sesquipedalia verba* which sound well and mean little. In fact, should the right of interpellation ever become inconvenient, and should it become necessary to conceal, while professing to afford information, the members of his Honour's Council might well consider whether answers might not be given with advantage in the language of a police diary. Few persons, I suppose would have the hardihood to assert that they ever elicited information of real value from the well-dressed visitor who, having politely listened to every topic of conversation, rises with clasped hands, and that unfailing watch-word, which might serve him for a motto: "*Ek 'arz hai*"

There exists, however, a source of information, to which hitherto no adequate importance has been assigned. The real feelings of the masses of the people are embodied in the ballads which are chanted to the tambourine by grimy and tattered singers, on the shady side of the street, or amidst the dust of the market place. It may be news, and possibly a shock, to many people, that every event of average importance in the district becomes the subject of such an unwritten ballad. This street-poesy is the press of the poor. It is not intended to flatter the holder of office. It criticises his words and acts with the utmost freedom. The singer wears his heart on his sleeve.

English officials, as a rule, know little and care less about him. Natives, if they condescend to notice him, accord him sallies a good-humoured licence, which finds its counterpart in the ribaldry of the Carnival. In these ballads, the native of the lower orders ceases to be the passionless and neutral-tinted creature that bows before us on the outer verandah with accents of the most unctuous respect. He is taken off his guard. He reveals a deep tenderness and pathos. He displays a keen sense of the ridiculous. He seizes on weak points with a humour for which we would not give him credit. To quote the old fable, he shows us the struggle of Hercules and the lion, as the lion painted it. For once he shows a side of human nature that laughs and weeps without reference to a Government circular. In fact, all the records of our offices, with their quarter-margins and their dotted i's and their crossed t's, are the veriest bare-bones of local history, which none but the street-singer, with his tattered cloak and his thrumming tambourine, is able to enrobe in the forms of living flesh.

For purposes of illustration, I have selected a few out of the many ballads which were sung in the bazaars of Benares, at, and shortly after, the time of the memorable Water-works riot of 1891. Three years have now elapsed since those riots occurred; and it has been stated by high authority that all interest in the matter has passed away. Under these circumstances, they may serve, without objection, to indicate a source of information to the authorities in connection with those dangerous agitations which have lately simmered in the Eastern Districts. I have carefully suppressed those portions which, either by name or by obvious allusion, dealt hardly with particular persons. The residue, I trust, can wound no man's feelings, and I can only hope with Fabian:

How with a sportful malice it was followed,

May rather pluck on laughter than revenge.

The briefest outline of the facts of the riots must suffice for the purpose of explaining the allusions. Above all, it is foreign to my purpose to discuss any matter which may fairly be regarded as debateable. At the beginning of the year 1891, the site of a temple of Ramchandra had been taken up by the Benares Municipality, under the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act, for the purposes of the Water-works, then in process of construction. The temple is situated in the Bhadeni quarter, near the confluence of the Assi with the Ganges. It faces the stables of a wealthy merchant, named Rae Sita Ram, and persons interested in disorder managed to spread abroad the idea that Rae Sita Ram had procured the destruction of the temple, in order to preserve his own stables. This rumour, following upon a wide-spread objection to polluting the sacred

river, and to apprehension of the proposed water-tax, worked up the Hindu public to fever-heat. On the morning of Wednesday, the 15th April, there was a meeting of the Municipality at the Town-hall; and, after it had broken up, about noon, a general impression was abroad that a secret resolution had been passed to the effect that the temple, or at least its staircase, was to be forthwith destroyed. An immense multitude, including Gopal Das and Ram Shar Datt and Lachman Das amongst its ringleaders, collected at the temple, where an agitator fired the mine by proclaiming that the destruction of the temple had been ordered. The crowd attacked and demolished the adjoining pumping-station of the water-works, flinging the engines into the river, and pulling from his horse the Sub-inspector in charge of the armed police-guard. The police-guard, hopelessly outnumbered, retreated inside a building, while the mob fired the stables of Rae Sita Ram, and plundered his dwelling-house, with the two adjoining, from top to bottom. After a few shots, blazed off at random by the police-guard, and wounding only one person in the heel, the multitude poured down the Bhadeni road, smashing street-lamps in all directions. A demonstration of debateable character occurred outside one of the two residences of Raja Shiva Prashad, C. S. I., wrongly stated in the ballad annexed to have been the *Barahdari*. This demonstration had the effect of drawing off the police of the adjoining station of Kalbhairo, thereby enabling a gang of marauders utterly to ransack the Government Telegraph Office. The Eurasian Telegraph Master was hustled and insulted; but his wife and children were fortunate enough to escape into the Kalbhairo police station, though, in the flight, a native nurse was brutally cut across the face with a cudgel. The mob thereupon attacked and plundered the City Railway Station, removing, amongst other articles, a chest of silver-bar, valued at some four thousand rupees. Shortly afterwards, the District Magistrate, having at last received information, arrived on the scene, with his Assistant and the Superintendent of Police, followed by the 12th Bengal infantry on foot, and a wing of a British regiment, conveyed, on account of the glaring heat, in four-wheelers.

The rioters had fled at the first rumour of the approach of troops. On the way home, Babua Pande, leader of a notorious gang of cudgelmen, attacked, more to frighten than to hurt, a head constable at the Dasawamedha outpost. On the same night, over two hundred prisoners, secured, in default of handcuffs, by huge ropes, were lodged in the Central Gaol. It is a matter of common notoriety that, for some days afterwards, the subordinate police were accused of practising the grossest oppression and extortion. A terrible incident occurred in the

course of their arrests. Hari Ahir was the door-keeper of a native princess, who was an ardent patron of the temple. On the morning of the 17th April, an attempt was made by two armed constables, aided by two outsiders, to arrest him at his post for having been concerned in the plunder of Rae Sita Ram's dwelling-house. Hari suddenly snatched up a sabre from behind the wicket, and, at one stroke, cut down the first constable. As the second constable was tugging away at the hilt of his rusty police cutlass, Hari all but slashed off his hand at the wrist. The two outsiders fled panic-stricken. Hari chased them down a lane to the banks of a large bathing-tank. The first, who turned to guard himself with a bamboo-pole, he simply hacked over the fingers, while the second he felled with a sword-cut over the back of his head, inflicting no less than ten slashes on his prostrate and helpless body. By little short of a miracle all his victims recovered. On the 19th, he was arrested without much difficulty, it is supposed, on the information of Hannu Sinh, who, by the irony of fortune, was imprisoned, some months later, as a professional extortioner. Matters soon settled down to the hum-drum business of trying the immense batches of prisoners. The gigantic trial of the ringleaders, and the appellate proceedings in the High Court, are probably still fresh in most people's recollection. It is interesting to observe, that the voice of the people, as represented by the ballad-singer, endorses the High Court's acquittal of Rameshar Datt with respect to a shawl which he claimed to have obtained as a present, but which he was accused of having received well knowing it to have been the proceeds of dacoity.

The following is a paraphrase of some portions of a street-song, giving a bird's eye view of the leading facts as above described :

For Rama's sake in Kasi did a mighty riot rage ;
 That in Ind all men bethought them : 'Tis in sooth the Iron Age ;
 And, I trow me, goodly revels did our hallowed Rama hold,
 In a twinkling to the Assi as the frenzied masses roll'd ;
 Lamps smash'd—policemen scamper'd—o'er the engines waters swirl'd—
 Pipes burst—pumps flew to shivers—from his horse the Naib was hurl'd.
 In a cab drove up the Cutwaul, but so warm a welcome found
 That his men went off on business, not a man that stood his ground.
 Then ev'ry purse-proud huckster Rama's foe the rogues declar'd ;
 Stalls blaz'd—steeds fled—and starvelings on daintiest comfits far'd.
 As 'twere their fathers' earnings with gems their arms they fill,
 And his wife the city left screaming, while he fought to save his till.
 When the whites received these tidings, each his wife and bairns 'gan hale
 To the box, to take a ticket to the nearest place by rail ;
 And he cried : " Let's quit Benares ! God send no mob our way,"

For Mussulmans and Hindus both for Rama fought that day.
 But a wondrous choice made Rama, when a human form he chose :
 For we saw but cut-throats scoundrels round the Jham's abode to close :
 Of the " Portals-Twelve " some shutters they broke, and freed some birds,
 And a cheap old carpet plundered, ere the Post they storm'd in herds.
 I grant they snuff'd some lanterns, and they batter'd down a pole,
 And 'tis sure that each policeman they hunted to his hole,
 And the man of State they flouted, as the Master fled in fear,
 And their only thought was : " Bless us ! may the soldiers never hear."
 Thus the Station sought they, thinking ; " May no soldiers here alight."
 But they found some silver ingots, and—they filch'd the lot on sight.
 Yet for all this neither party got a scratch or bruise or seam ;
 For the folk were empty-handed, and just working off their steam.
 They were all at home by sunset, when the pale-face warriors came,
 And, by seizing harmless passers, proved them worthy of their name.
 The police, while work was toward, in a house lay close and still,
 But, when'er they met folks passing, then their pockets 'gan to fill;
 For the wealthy they surrounded, and for bribes they storm'd and roar'd,
 And, what Kashi lost, our rulers by the money-orders scor'd.
 Aye, police misrule lay heavy, and the poor were sorely wrung ;
 For whoe'er had nought to pay them. rope-bound in jail they flung.
 On the weak their hand lay heavy, till our pray'rs took heaven by storm,
 And of Hari Gwal, the shepherded, Ramchandra took the form.
 Well, a catch-pole spake to Hari : " You're wanted. Come away ! "
 " I am guiltless ! and my duty's at the queen's house-door to stay,"
 So spake the god man-bodied, " Come, seize me, if you dare,"
 For his heart was sick to witness, how they cuffed and bound men there.
 In wrath, his blade unbaring did he smite the catch-poles sore ;
 Half bled, half bit the green-sword, as he vanished through the door.
 Then peace reigned in Benares ! to their cabs the soldiers run,
 To save their fair complexions from the beating of the sun.
 First Hannu Sinh informer 'gainst Hari bore the tale ;
 But his catch-pole friends for guerdon only sent him next to jail.
 Then they swore, the priest Rameshar had filched his king's gift-shawl,
 That Sita Ram and nephew never blush'd their own to call.
 Gopal and Lachman brethren ! both, I trow, are free from stain,
 Stout servants they of Rama, for they fought to save his fane.
 Woe worth these days, my brethren ! when the good are thus forlorn ;
 But for Rama's sake they suffer'd, and they laugh these woes to scorn.
 'Gainst none their wrath our rulers, save Hindoos, have display'd ;
 For at sight of firm-knit Moslems sinks the Sahib's heart dismay'd.
 One boast is left us Hindoos, for all we've lost and brav'd :
 " Stout friends in need, these Moslems ! for their skins they all have sav'd.
 Then Dumpy spake : " Friend Swarthy ! hath not Babua earn'd a name
 As a rogue ? Come, let's embroil him, and win us lasting fame."

Such mangy curs at doorsteps still beg for odds and ends,
 They pick up scraps at banquets and—to Patna see their friends.
 Well, high and low, of statesfolk from their senses all were scar'd.
 The Judge, Collector, Council, and Chief Governor all declar'd :
 " No time is this for justice, else th' administration's bound
 " To be ruin'd ! " they repeal'd it, and promotion earn'd all round.
 Thus spake Baijnath, as listened all the world, and every face
 Was shame-flush'd. God protect me ! for his feet my arms embrace.

It will, I think, be admitted, that however poorly rendered, the above pasquille is a remarkable production for a Hindu beggar. There is a rugged independence in the manner in which the singer aims his cudgel-blows, in succession, at Hindus, at Mussulmans, and at Europeans. With a lightning sense of the humorous, he seizes on such points, as the action of the Cutwaul, and afterwards of the British soldiers, in marching off to suppress a rebellion on the benches of licensed hackney-cabs. He is quite ready to jeer at those Hindus whose courage consists in battling for their tills while they leave their wives screaming, or whose zeal for religion aspires no higher than to dub wealthy citizens enemies of Rama, and, on the strength of that title, to plunder them of their possessions. He scoffingly wonders why Rama, if in need of an incarnation to protect his temple, should have selected the form of cut-throats and marauders. As against all this play of light humour, however, it is a very remarkable, and a very serious feature, that he has nothing but contempt for the supposed timidity and injustice of Europeans. He records it as his deliberate opinion, that the Europeans were afraid to proceed against the Mussulmans ; and it is no light matter that, in the minds of the common people, such an impression should have arisen. It will further be observed that he extols the miscreant Hari as a hero, and as a champion of the liberties of the people. Still harping on the alleged cowardice of Europeans, he declares that Hari's act was necessary, to terrify them from their oppression. Unfortunately, there can be no question that this was the popular idea, as three ballads, devoted to the praise of Hari, will disclose. The first runs :

What man may do, full well thou didst, God knows !
 When on each side 'gan hireling catch-poles close,
 Outswept thy brand, and merry rang thy blows,
 Hail, for our lives, with thine, thou from our foes
 Hast saved. Though cries of Spare him ! Spare him ! rose,
 And though on Hari fell not Hari's aid,
 " See," quoth Jageshar, " not a scar he shows !"

The second runs :

When the catch-poles came to seize him, the lad bespake them fair ;
 But they gruffly cried, "To the guard-house ! the Inspector wants thee there."

"Why, friends," he pleaded, "seize me, who in guilt have had no share?"

They heeded nought—In anger his brand the lad laid bare,
And across three wounded foemen soon gained the open air;
Now chief the world extols him of the men that do and dare!
"Like his blade's yageshar's roundel; for there's point and polish there!"

The third runs:

For Rama smite a blow! was the cry of high and low, as clash the
gongs and cymbals, and the merry shell-trumps blow,
Through the streets the tidings go, and with frenzy all aglow, on they
rushed to worship Rama in a goodly wise, I trow.
With a crash they smash the engines, o'er the pipes the waters flow,
And the banker's locks are shivered, and his goods to sack delivered,
ere, I ween, the surging masses their burst of madness know.
Not a street-lamp burns to-night, and the Jain has had to fight,
And over they roll every telegraph pole and each constable chase out
of sight!
At the station, too, a raid on the silver-bar they made,
Why, look you, who's afraid? though the very deuce they play'd, not
a man was there that turn'd a hair with fright.
When the Judge and Magistrate heard that things were in this state,
with a company they rushed to keep the peace;
Then off the rabble scurried, but the bystanders were flurried, and they
stopped, and now—pray God for their release!
For now's the hue and cry and the searching low and high, for poor
devils, in whose house stolen goods they may espy;
For 'tis these they clap in jail, and to free them nought can vail—nought,
save when Hari gazeth with pity in his eye.

The ballads, which have been so far considered, are warlike and defiant. They view the riots from the stand-point of a man who has fought and suffered. They echo his exultation over his enemies and oppressors, who, though they may, by brute force, have crushed his revolt, have been thoroughly frightened by his outburst, and, after their experience with the gallant shepherd, are not likely to provoke a second encounter. The epilogue to one ballad indeed raises a pæan of triumph over the British. It runs:

EPILOGUE.

"Ah well, 'twas fate! we brook it so—though these streets ring shrieks of woe,
"Saved is Ram's temple from this blow!" so spake Jageshar, "thus, I trow
Ramchandra triumphs o'er his foe."

This is very different reading from the Government Resolution, in regard to the moral nature and the practical issue of the

rising. It certainly does not suggest that the Hindus admitted defeat, nor that the measures then taken will be likely to deter them from another rising.

I turn with some relief to the distinct order of ballads, in which the woman's version of the matter is represented. I annex two specimens, both intended to be sung by choirs of women at the Kajuri festival.

The first runs :

Howe'er I scold, my goodman will not heed ;
 Yet, as he goes, a boding sneeze I hear, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 All went, forsooth, the Temple but to see ;
 But wires and pumps they left of sorry cheer, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Full many a prince and gentle was despoiled,
 That now to beg his bread is driven sheer, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 On Sita Ram they called at his abode,
 And with his gems made over free, I fear, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Cudgels and staves were broken over backs,
 That never yet a wisp of straw did sear, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Some seven long years in jail, and some fourteen,
 Must linger—Well, to death that brings them near, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !
 Though Ram Prashad this bonnie roundel sings,
 He, too, through prison-bars was made to peer, coz,
 The time is out of gear, coz !

The second runs :

What Destiny inscribeth, effaced hath never been :
 In the town-hall there had met
 A Committee, and, you bet,
 That in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green !
 Unto the Temple thronging, the surging crowds were seen,
 And that Temple but to save
 Ev'ry man his heart's blood gave,
 For in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.
 There were thousands, coz, and thousands on the ground that day, I ween,
 Yet upon the heart of all
 Did a sudden terror fall,
 When in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.
 My sweetheart, too, was taken, and to set him free I mean,
 Yet to whom, say, shall I go
 To pour out my tale of woe,
 How in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green ?

Why, not a single penny, not a farthing can I glean ;
 For without a hearth or home,
 My sweetheart, must I roam,
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.
 That's why this year my roundel is poor and weak and mean,
 For my heart from hour to hour
 Doth a raging fire devour,
 Since in Ninety-one, at Kâshî, there were wigs upon the green.

There is something very tender in the sad and sweet resignation, with which alone the woman contemplates the march of events. No note of defiance is sounded. She has no bitter reproaches for the British. There is no mocking sneer at their courage. The woman knows nothing about the causes of the riot. She knows merely that her husband, or her lover, went fourth to save the temple, and that he has been cast into prison. She has no feeling except sorrow for the prisoner. A somewhat similar spirit of resignation, from the man's point of view, is breathed in the annexed ballad :—

Such is the vengeance of the Lord !
 Mine eyes beheld what hears thine ear ;
 We went but in the dyke to peer,
 We came—and to the fane drew near,
 And thronging round the stair-case pour'd.
 Soon smash'd the engines (list my love !),
 Soon dyke and river overflow'd ;
 Town-wards the yelling plund'ers strode
 Mid flames from Sîtâ Kâm's abode
 (Ah well ! he ne'er fear'd God above !)
 The station's won, the wires are torn ;
 To sack and plunder all's a prey,
 " We'll have a royal time ! " they say,
 Yet now, whoe'er was seized that day,
 His hearth-stone's cold and home forlorn.
 " The bairns are starving ! " sobs his wife.
 O God ! the luck of old renew,
 They only smash'd a lamp or two,
 And did no harm to me or you,
 Though every catch-pole ran for life.
 To ev'ry guard-house word was sent :
 " These did no harm to you or me,
 " From hell were devils on the spree ! "
 But when they came the judge to see,
 'Twas " Fourteen years ! " and off they went.

How few will 'scape ? how many die ?

Peace, brother ! set thine heart at ease,
These haughty Franks do what they please,
Their home's not here, but over seas,
And at their feet we commons lie.

'Tis God that lendeth them his pow'r,
Thus doth Prashad his tale unfold,
As though 'twere fashion'd in a mould,
And yet in Ninety-one, I'm told,
He play'd the duke for half-an-hour.

(a constable passes.)

Sugar-toys for sale ! two-a-penny ! two-a-penny.

Yet here the man's defiant spirit breaks through his resignation. There is a world of human nature in the exultant glee of the beggar, that, whatever else may have occurred, he lorded it with the best of them, if only for half an hour, while, with the rest of the mob, he had the sleek citizens of Benares trembling at his feet.

ART. IV.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from April 1894, No. 196)

THE DISTRICT COURTS.

ABOVE the Court of the bailiwick is the District Court (*Landgericht*), which exercises civil, commercial, and criminal jurisdiction. It is divided into Chambers, and consists of a President, the necessary number of Vice-Presidents (*Direktoren*), and of judges (*Richter*). A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each Court (arts. 58-60). The President exercises general powers of direction and supervision. He presides over the general meetings of the Court, and over any Chamber (Bench) he pleases, and has other special functions. The Vice-Presidents preside over the Chamber to which they are attached, and act for the President in the case of his inability to preside. The President of a Chamber is not only charged with the direction of the trial, but gives all interlocutory decisions which it is necessary to give before a final judgment can be arrived at.

The District Court is the Court of Appeal from the Court of the bailiwick. It must have at least one civil and one criminal Chamber; but the number of Chambers can be increased according to the size and importance of the jurisdiction and the number of cases. When united in a general meeting, it is called to give, at the instance of Government, opinions in matters of legislation and judicial administration.

CIVIL JURISDICTION.

As a Court of first instance, the District Court decides all suits which are not within the competence of the Courts of the bailiwicks, that is to say, as a rule, cases in which the value of the subject-matter exceeds 300 marks. Besides, it has exclusive jurisdiction in cases concerning the personal status. Finally certain suits of a special nature, irrespective of the amount of claim, go before them; notably, claims by retired Imperial officials against the Treasury of the Empire for payment of pension, and civil suits brought against such officials in consequence of acts done in the exercise of their duties. Local Legislatures can make over such suits to the District Court, if they are brought against the State, or officials of the State, and not against the Empire, or officials of the Empire. In pursuance of this principle, all States have made over such cases to the District Courts, and also claims for the suppression of privileges, and claims relating to the collection of taxes.

As a Court of second instance, the Civil Chamber hears appeals from the decisions of the Bailiwick Court, and applications for revision (*Beschwerde*). It is also a Court of revision in the case of decisions given by the Bailiwick Court in its voluntary jurisdiction. The District Court is generally the Court of discipline over attorneys, and can punish them even by deprivation of the right to exercise their profession.

The Civil Benches, whether in regular contested litigation or dispensing voluntary justice, are composed of three judges, comprising the President.

COMMERCIAL JURISDICTION.

The District Court takes cognizance of commercial cases of which the value exceeds 300 marks

Consular justice has never occupied in Germany the important place it has in French law. The Commission of Justice suppressed it, quoting the example of England and commercial Holland. It was argued that consular Courts are exceptional Courts, which derogate from the principle of the equality of all before justice, and in fact suppress the judicial unity which the Code proclaims. Merchants have no right to an exceptional jurisdiction. Commercial Courts might have had their practical utility in past times when the commercial law was not codified, but rested on unknown usages and customs. But now a Code of Commerce is in existence, which is not the secret of merchants. Why should not the application of a written law be entrusted to the Magistrates, and why must one be a merchant to understand it? Will the commercial judge know the law and appreciate the facts better than the judge of common law? The law can only be well applied by those who know it well, and to know it well one must have studied it. Juridical study is a necessary condition for strong justice, but one cannot demand or expect such study from the merchant taken from his desk. Again, as regards the facts, his special competence is limited to the nature of his own business, and when the litigation goes beyond this narrow circle, he will be as inexperienced as the ordinary judge. It cannot be seriously contended that the banker is well versed in all the secrets of the manufacture of industrial products, or that the manufacturer has any sort of aptitude for deciding the delicate questions raised by the constitution of banking companies. The commercial man knows the usages of his own industry and his own country, while the Court is expected to know the customs of all commerce and all countries; like the civil judge who decides satisfactorily all kinds of questions of agriculture, fine arts, construction, &c., the commercial judge too must have recourse to experts, and he judges the facts from the special light they are able to throw on them. Thus, neither in law nor in fact, can the superiority

of the commercial judge be established. On the other hand, frequently renewed, occupying their position for a short time only, commercial judges have neither the practical knowledge of judicial business, nor the general experience which time gives to the judges of the common law. Conscious of their inferiority, one will see them systematically follow the opinion of the civil judge who sits with them, or if they dispense justice alone, they will seek elsewhere from without for authority and support, and will demand an inspiration and a judgment, either from foreign jurists, or, as in Rhenish Prussia, from the clerk of the Court, who in their eyes will represent tradition and knowledge. Other difficulties may arise in the shape of frequent conflicts of competence between the two sets of Courts, leading to injurious delay in the despatch of business. The necessities of commercial life demand one thing only, a rapid procedure, and for the attainment of this, an exceptional Court is not required.

Such considerations as these induced the Commission to suppress the Commercial Courts. This decision aroused the keenest agitation and opposition in the commercial world. Addresses and petitions poured into the Federal Council from all directions. The Commission stayed its hand in the face of the general reprobation, and without re-establishing the Commercial Courts, voted by a majority of 16 to 12 for the optional formation of commercial chambers attached to the Civil Courts, and this decision was ratified by Parliament in its sitting of the 17th November 1876.

The Court of Commerce, then, as it exists in France, has not been introduced into the German judicial organisation ; commercial chambers can be established only in the District Courts, that is, in large centres where it may be rendered necessary by the necessities of commercial life. The rule is not uniform, and is not obligatorily imposed on the whole Empire, each State being left to appreciate the utility of consular justice, and to introduce it or not at its discretion (art. 100). The Commercial Chamber is not an independent Court, though it has a distinct competence and a special composition ; even though it sits in a different town, it forms one of the chambers of the District Court. Even so, the civil chamber retains full jurisdiction, and commercial suits are only taken before the special chamber on the formal demand of one of the parties. If the plaintiff makes no such demand, the case goes to the civil chamber, which can declare itself incompetent and send it to the special chamber on the representation of the defendant (arts. 102—108). The procedure before the commercial chamber is the same as that of the civil chamber, and the employment of advocates is obligatory ; but the period of adjournment is reduced from a month to 15 days.

The commercial chamber takes cognizance of all matters which constitute an act of commerce between the parties, and on the condition that the defendant is a commercial man. This general principle greatly limits the competence and confines it in practice to cases in which both parties are commercial men.

Commercial cases are only made over to the commercial chamber, when the value of the subject matter of the litigation exceeds 300 marks, and there is thus no interference with the competence of the bailiwick court. The general principle is maintained that cases of comparatively minor importance require the simple procedure of the bailiwick court, and the expeditious and readily accessible justice of the judge sitting singly. Appeals from decisions in these cases lie to the civil chamber of the District Court.

As has been remarked, commercial courts are not universal throughout Germany; they are attached to only 61 District Courts out of 172. Fourteen States, mostly smaller States, have no commercial justice. The majority of the other States have established it only where the importance of commercial life rendered it necessary. Thus in Prussia only 25 out of 92 District Courts have commercial chambers attached to them, and in Bavaria only 16 out of 28. Only Hesse and the Hanseatic towns (Lübeck, Brême, and Hamburg) have one or more commercial chambers attached to each Court. Some District Courts have several commercial chambers; thus Berlin has 7, Munich 4, Düsseldorf and Hamburg 3 each. There are altogether 82 commercial chambers sitting in 67 different localities.

The commercial chamber is composed everywhere of a member of the District Court as President, and two merchants. The presence of a judge, a member of the permanent magistracy, accustomed to juridical difficulties, has always appeared indispensable to German legislators, in order to direct the procedure, to watch over the exact application of the law, and assure the good administration of justice. It has seemed to them that, composed exclusively of merchants constantly changing, the Court would be in a manner too moveable, too accessible to impressions of fact, too variable in the application of the law, and they have therefore decided that the presidency should be in the hands of a judicial magistrate, charged with the representation of tradition, jurisprudence, and law. Commercial judges have the same powers and rights as ordinary judges, and are subject to the same duties and discipline (art. 116). They take an oath on the assumption of their duties. They receive neither salary nor compensation,* their function being regarded as an honour.

* In Baden commercial judges, who do not reside in the place where the Court is held, receive the same travelling expenses as assessors and jurors.

The presiding judge is a member of the District Court ; but he may be, in exceptional cases, a judge of the bailiwick, when the chamber sits in the place where the bailiwick court is held. The commercial judges are appointed on the nomination of the Chamber of Commerce ; in Alsace, by the Emperor, in Prussia, Bavaria and Würtemberg by the King, in Brunswick and Baden by the Sovereign Duke, and by the Senate in the Hanseatic towns. They are appointed for three years, and may be re-appointed (art. 112). The nominations are submitted to the President of the District Court, who transmits them with his opinion to the Minister of Justice. There are no capacity or property qualifications for a commercial judge ; the only conditions are, that he must be a German, must have completed 30 years, must reside in the jurisdiction of the commercial chamber, and must be, or have been inscribed on the register of commerce.

There are altogether 382 commercial judges in Germany, as follows ; 123 in Prussia, 118 in Bavaria, 35 in Saxony, 24 in Alsace, 20 in Hesse, 18 in Bremen and Hamburg, 12 in Würtemberg, 6 in Lübeck, 4 in Baden, 2 in Brunswick and Coburg.

CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

It has been seen that the Courts of Assessors try those delicts the punishment of which is comparatively light. The Criminal Chamber of the District Court tries the more serious delicts and all but the gravest crimes, which are reserved for the Court of Assize. To particularize, it takes cognizance of crimes punishable with a maximum of five years' imprisonment with hard labour (*Zuchthaus*), and of all delicts which are not within the competence of the Courts of Assessors, that is to say, delicts punishable with more than three months' imprisonment or more than 600 marks fine * (art. 73). Such is the general principle ; and it is between these two extremes, three months' imprisonment and five years' hard labour, that the jurisdiction of the District Court is to be found. Some delicts of a special nature are also reserved to the District Court, though the punishment is light. Besides the delicts punished by the Penal Code, the District Court has exclusive cognizance of some other delicts punished by the Federal laws, the punishment of which varies from a fine of 150 to 5,000 marks and from one month to one year's imprisonment. Among these it is interesting to notice the following : certain press delicts, such as a refusal to insert official corrections† or opinions (Law of the 30th November 1874) ; omis-

* These constitute the large majority of delicts, and it may be remarked that some of them are classed in the French Penal Code as crimes.

† There is no law in India by which a newspaper can be compelled to insert a correction. Is not such a law very necessary, and would it not, to some extent, put a stop to the dishonest, malicious, or subsidised defamation of Government officials ? There are some papers which will gladly insert attacks on officials, but will refuse to insert any reply or correction.

sion or false declaration of the name of the printer, editor, or responsible manager ; appeals to the public for subscriptions to pay fines of convicted persons ; * fraudulent usurpation of trade marks ; organisation of forbidden associations, &c.

In addition to the above, the Criminal Chamber takes cognizance of a certain number of crimes (specified in the law) which, though punishable with a maximum of ten years' hard labour, the legislature has, with the object of securing good administration and speedy justice, deemed it necessary to bring within the competence of the District Court. These crimes are : outrage without violence on the chastity of children under 14 years of age, aggravated simple theft after previous convictions, habitual receipt of stolen property and receipt of stolen property after previous conviction, cheating after previous conviction, and finally, all crimes committed by persons under 18 years of age. Though these are grave crimes, yet experience had shown that, by reason of extenuating circumstances, the punishment awarded had rarely exceeded five years.

It is thus apparent that the District Court is the ordinary tribunal for the trial of crimes, and that only crimes of exceptional gravity are sent to the Court of Assize. During the year 1881, 86 per cent. of all crimes were tried by the District Courts, and only 14 per cent. by the Courts of Assize.

The rule which confers judisdiction on the District Court in the case of all delicts punishable with more than three months imprisonment, might lead to inconvenience and unnecessary waste of power, as many such delicts are of comparatively little importance, and might well be left to the Courts of Assessors. It is with the object of remedying this inconvenience that the Code gives to the District Court a sort of right of correction or redistribution in permitting it to send down to the Court of Assessors all delicts punishable with a maximum of six months' imprisonment or 1,500 marks fine, and certain other specified delicts, whenever it is of opinion, having regard to the circumstances, that the punishment should not exceed three months' imprisonment.† The order for sending a case to the Court of Assessors is passed by what is known as the Council Chamber, which must act, however, in concert with the Public Prosecutor. The Criminal Chambers freely use this right, and in 1881 about 70 per cent. of delicts were sent to the Courts of Assessors.

* Some Counsel in Calcutta gave an opinion that an advertisement for such subscriptions was not illegal. I think the opinion was given in connection with the Sham Bazar rioting cases. Had the accused persons been fined by the High Court, would not that Court have treated such appeals as an external contempt of Court ? But the High Court is perhaps more prone to uphold its own dignity and position rather than that of subordinate Courts.

† A similar provision, but of a wider application as it applies to crimes, exists in the Belgian law.

Thus, side by side with precise rules based on the amount of punishment provided in the Penal Code, competence in the Criminal Courts of Germany becomes often a question of fact, and the same infraction of the penal law can, according to circumstances, be tried by different tribunals.*

The Code does not admit any departure from the principles laid down ; press and political delicts are subject to the same rule as delicts of common law, and are triable by the District Court. A single exception is admitted by article 6 of the law putting the Code in force, which permits those States to retain the jurisdiction of the Court of Assize for press offences in which such offences were being tried by jury before the promulgation of the Code. These States are the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wurtemberg and the Grand Duchies of Baden and Oldenburg. Throughout the rest of Germany, the District Court is alone competent to try press offences, and its competence cannot be modified except by a Federal law.

PRESS OFFENCES.

The question of the trial of press offences gave rise to the most ardent discussion in Parliament. It was urged by one party that in such cases the jury is the only impartial judge ; offences of opinion can only be properly judged by the representatives of opinion, that is to say, by juries ; otherwise there is a risk of a conflict between the Courts and public opinion, and such a conflict brings justice into discredit. It is often difficult to determine the boundary between justifiable criticism and prohibited attack, and a trial before the Court of Assize can alone secure liberty of thought and the liberty of the press. Judges, it was urged, are functionaries, servants of the Government whom they must defend ; they have not the necessary independence, and to leave to them the trial of press offences is to suppress the guarantees of justice.

Moved by these considerations, Parliament at first decided, by a majority of 122 to 105, to make over the trial of press offences to the Courts of Assize ; but it subsequently yielded to the stubborn resistance of the Federal Council, directed by Prussia. The Prussian Minister of Justice urged that the new code introduced unity ; it was desired to have the same law for all, and to give Germany independent judges universally respected. They should not introduce privileges, create exceptional courts, or discredit the new Courts by treating their judges with suspicion. "As a matter of fact," remarked the minister, "trial by jury for press offences is very

* To give an illustration : theft, when the value of the property stolen does not exceed 25 marks, is triable by the Court of Assessors ; when it exceeds such value, it is triable by the District Court, with a discretion to send it to the lower Court ; if the theft is aggravated, it is triable exclusively by the District Court ; if it amounts to robbery, it goes to the Court of Assize.

bad. It can only take place at periodical and distant sessions, and the punishment is only pronounced when the offence is forgotten. It is much too slow. It is necessary in the case of press offences that the punishment should swiftly follow the offence, and the condemnation is only effectual when the prosecution immediately replies to the attack. A criminal judge must be firm and impartial; juries will not have the necessary qualities or they will fall into a sort of political indifference and scepticism, and will practice the doctrine of *laissez-faire* and *laissez passer*, or, carried away by the dominating opinion, they will only listen to party hatreds. With them acquittals will be numerous and often scandalous, and the most honest and called-for prosecution will frequently become impossible. They are too liable to be carried away by political, national, or religious passions, too accessible to frothy declamations and sophisms, too ready to play the rôle of legislator or sovereign, that is to say, to reform the law or pardon the guilty person. "

These arguments virtually prevailed and led to the above mentioned compromise. That is, the district court was given jurisdiction except in those few states in which press offences were already being tried by juries.

The Criminal Chamber is also a Court of second instance or appeal from the decisions of the Courts of Assessors; and as such Court, is composed of five judges, including the President. But appeals in the case of contraventions and prosecutions at the instance of the Civil party are disposed of by three judges.

As a Court of first instance, the Criminal Chamber is a sovereign Judge, and no appeal is allowed against its decisions. It is in the number of judges that the German Code places the guarantees of justice, and not in recourse from one Court to another.

The Criminal Chamber is composed solely of judges, and the popular or laic element has no share in the administration of justice by the District Court. Great efforts were made before the Commission and in Parliament to introduce this element, but without success. Those in favour of it urged that it was inconsistent to admit the popular element in the lowest and highest rungs of the judicial ladder, and to exclude it from the intermediate jurisdiction. If assessors are good for the lowest Courts, they are also good for the higher Courts; if the system is bad, let it be altogether abolished. But in any case at least the same guarantees are necessary when the interests are higher and the decisions more formidable. These considerations triumphed at first, and a majority of the Commission voted for the amendment of H.H. Becker and Schwarze,

which created Courts of grand assessors, and composed the Criminal Chamber of two judges and three assessors. However the practical difficulties in the way of such an extension of the system were proved to be insurmountable apart from its demonstrable drawbacks and demerits. The mass of expert opinion was against it, for instance 24 out of 27 Courts of Appeal in Prussia, and 21 public prosecutors out of 27; in Bavaria 12 Courts of Appeal and public prosecutors out of 13. It was shown that the requisite number of capable assessors could not be found, and that the system would impose an intolerable burden on the people. It was, moreover, pointed out that the system of assessors was but an experiment in the lowest courts; and it would be madness, for the sake of symmetry and consistency, to jeopardize higher interests and compromise justice, before that experiment had proved a success. The amendment was accordingly rejected.

Other functions and duties of the Criminal Chamber of the District Court are set forth in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

THE PRESIDIUM AND ROTATION OF JUDGES.

The question of rotation or the formation of Benches is one of great importance. The German Code recognizes that to leave it to the President of the Court is only a degree less dangerous than to leave it to the administration.

The President of the Court selects each year, and for the whole year in advance, the Chamber over which he wishes to preside. He has not the right to sit in any other chamber, and therefore he cannot come at his will to preside in any particular case, and so bring his weight to bear on the other members, and compromise justice. The Vice-Presidents divide the other chambers amongst themselves in accordance with a majority (art. 61).

The actual rotation or roster of judges is fixed by the Presidium. The Presidium is composed of the President, the Vice-Presidents, and the senior judge (art. 63). Each year *before the commencement of the year and for the whole duration of the year*, it selects the judges for each chamber, and if the chamber contains more judges than are necessary for the validity of a judgment,* it fixes the order in which they shall sit. It also decides what groups of cases shall go to each chamber. The rotation and distribution can be modified during the course of the year in two cases only; when the file of a chamber is heavier than it can dispose of, or when a judge goes away or is for some time prevented from sitting. A proposal that the President might modify the *personnel* of a particular chamber for any grave reason was rejected on the ground that it would

* Three judges for a Civil and five for a Criminal Chamber.

leave him too much arbitrary power. There was always a chance that some President might be swayed by political motives or influenced by feelings hostile to the Government; and that he might wish some particular judge of his Court to sit in some particular case.*

EXTENT AND IMPORTANCE OF DISTRICT COURTS.

Germany has 172 District Courts: of which Prussia has 92, Bavaria 28, Würtemberg 8, Saxony and Baden 7 each, and Alsace-Lorraine 6. Some states are so petty that for judicial purposes they are annexed to a neighbouring State, and comprised within the jurisdiction of a foreign District Court. Other States have joined their territories together, and have established one or more common courts (*condominatsgerichte*). This is a peculiar and interesting feature of German organisation; it is often a true judicial union, presaging possibly a political union. The appointment of judges and the expenses of justice are shared by the different States.

In almost all the States the seats and the jurisdictions of the District Courts have been fixed and can only be modified by a law.

It has been recognized that the District Court ought to have a considerable importance, derived from an extensive jurisdiction and a number of judges. The area of a District Court is generally very large, containing a mean population for the whole of Germany of 262,988† inhabitants per Court. The First District Court of Berlin has a population of 1,122,504, while that of Bückeburg, which comprises the whole of the State of Schaumburg-Lippe, has only 35,374 inhabitants. The average area of a District Court corresponds approximately to a circle having a diameter of 31 kilometres;‡ so that, if the Court were in the centre of the circle, the mean distance of

* The Chief Justice (President) of the Calcutta High Court exercises a power, (24 and 25 Vic. c. 104, s. 14) which in Germany would be considered very dangerous. He forms groups of Benches, and even changes their constitution during the year. Under the German system the *Bongobashi* case (to give an illustration) would have had to go to the particular chamber and the particular President specified before the commencement of the year, and therefore before the case had arisen. So as regards civil cases, the Bench for the Patna group or the Rajshahye group (under the German system), would be fixed before the commencement of the year and for the whole year, and the Chief Justice would have no power to put on the Bench any particular Judge he might, whether from proper or improper motives, desire to add to it. Under the German system, the Judges to preside at the different sessions in 1893 would be fixed in December 1892; so the Criminal Revisional Benches would be fixed for the whole year, and could not be altered.

† Some Thanas (Police Stations) in the Province of Bengal, have a population exceeding 300,000.

‡ A kilometre = about 1093 yards, 1 foot, 10 inches.

the various localities from it would be 22 kilometres. In jurisdictions so extensive there must be obstacles in the way of justice, owing to the inconvenience and expense of moving about accused persons and witnesses. To obviate these inconveniences, the Code authorizes the creation by administrative decision of detached Criminal chambers, which sit at the headquarters of a bailiwick Court, and have a separate jurisdiction; they are composed of judges of the bailiwick belonging to this special resort, or of judges delegated by the District Court. There are altogether 40 of these detached chambers, and they have only been established in five States.

Each District Court comprises at least one Civil and one Criminal Chamber; most Courts have more. In Prussia, for instance, 2 courts have only two chambers, 17 have three, 18 four, 20 five, 18 six, 7 seven, and 3 eight. The number of Civil Chambers in all the District Courts of Germany is 399, and that of Criminal Chambers is 323, the large majority of Courts having 2 or 3 Civil Chambers, and 1 or 2 Criminal Chambers. A *juge d'instruction* is attached to each District Court, the more important Court having several.

When the Court consists of several Civil and Criminal Chambers, the Presidium distributes the work according to geographical areas, or classes of cases; or one Chamber has original, another appellate jurisdiction. The distribution, as has been pointed out, is made beforehand for the whole judicial year, and cannot be altered.

PERSONNEL OF THE DISTRICT COURTS.

The *personnel* of the District Courts comprises for the whole of Germany 2,168 Presidents, Vice-Presidents and Judges. The number of Presidents is 171, of Vice-Presidents 335, and of Judges 1,661.

The number of judges attached to a District Court has not been fixed by law; but every Court must comprise one Civil Chamber, one Criminal Chamber, and a *juge d'instruction*. Moreover, as the *juge d'instruction* cannot sit as a judge to try the cases he has investigated, and as not more than two members of the Chamber of Council can make a part of the Criminal Chamber, it follows that a District Court cannot consist of less than 7 members, namely, a President, a Vice-President, and 5 Judges. In this case, two members of the Civil Chamber will form a part of the Chamber of Council, and a Civil Judge will make the preliminary inquiries. This number is generally found to be insufficient in practice. Only 5 District Courts in the whole of Germany have so small a number of judges; 78 Courts have from 8 to 10 judges, 52 have from 11 to 15, 27 from 16 to 20, 8 from 21 to 40, and one has 90 judges.

The Chambers are generally composed of the exact number of judges required by the law for the validity of judgments, 3 for civil, and 5 for criminal cases. The French institution of substitute * judges attached to each tribunal is unknown in Germany. If the President is prevented from sitting, he is replaced by the senior of the Vice-Presidents. The President of a Chamber is replaced by the senior Judge of such Chamber (art. 65). In this matter no initiative whatever is left either to the President or to the administration.† The Presidium, in drawing up the rotation and roster list before the commencement of the year, assigns to each judge a colleague whose duty it will be to sit in case the former is prevented from doing so.‡

It is only when the substitute is himself prevented from acting, that an extraordinary substitute can in exceptional instances be appointed by the President (art. 65). Every judge of a Court is thus not only a permanent judge, but also a substitute for one or more of his colleagues.

The above rules apply to accidental and temporary causes; but the inability of a judge to sit may be permanent and prolonged, by reason of his continued illness, or his election to Parliament. In Prussia more than 70 Judges belong to the Prussian Parliament, and 16 are members of the Federal or Imperial Parliament. In November 1875 about 250 Parliamentary seats were held by Assessors. Again a Court may have more cases on its files than it can possibly get through without such delay as is tantamount to a denial of justice. In such cases additional or auxiliary judges (*Hülfsrichter*) are added to the Court. They are appointed by the Minister of Justice, but such appointments can only be made on the formal demand of the Presidium, which alone is judge of the necessity and occasion for such appointments. The object of this proviso is to take away from Government or the President the power of appointing a particular judge to a particular chamber, or for the trial of a particular case.

* *Juges suppléants.*

† As an exception, the President selects the substitutes in Bavaria, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and the town of Lübeck; while the Minister of Justice selects them in Saxony, Saxe-Altenburg and Reusz; and the Senate in Hamburg. It should also be noted that in Prussia substitutes for *juges d'instruction* are appointed by the Minister of Justice.

‡ To put this concretely, Prinsep and Pigot, J. J. are the Criminal Bench. Pigot, J., gets ill, or takes a holiday. Neither the Bengal Government nor the Chief Justice could direct Norris or Ghose, J., or any other Judge they might select, to act for Pigot, J. Pigot, J. would have had, before the commencement of the year, a substitute assigned to him by the Presidium, or in other words, by the whole Court sitting and arranging the roster by a majority of voices, and that substitute would take his place.

The following was the outturn of work of all the District Courts of Germany during the judicial year 1881 :

Number of cases decided				Number per District Court.			
Civil 1st instance	...	1,64,399	...	...	...	961	
„ (contested	...	91,575)	...	...	...	536	
„ appellate	...	36,175	...	...	...	211*	
„ (contested	...	30,636)	..	...	...	179	
Commercial	...	34,301					
„ (contested	...	10,598)					
Marriage	...	6,235	...	...	...	36	
(relating to divorce)	...	5,523					
Applications for revision of decisions of the Courts of the Bailiwick	...	11,591					
Criminal, original	...						
crimes	...	31,116	}	65,147	...	...	280
delicts	...	34,031					
(accused persons convicted...		87,109					
„ „ acquitted	...	14,134†)					
„ „ appellate	...	32,456	...	...	...	189	
(convictions confirmed	...	19,095)					
„ upset	...	13,361					
applications for revision	...	5,633					

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

* The mean number of appeals from each Court of the Bailiwick was 18. The numbers of contested cases are included in the numbers above them. Of the marriage cases, 3,942 were terminated by an order for dissolution of marriage.

† This means 1 acquittal for 4.60 cases and 7.23 accused persons. Appeals were instituted in less than half the number of cases, and the proportion of reversals was 1 for 2.35 appeals.

ART. V.—BOMBAY DOMESTIC ANNALS.

THE BOMBAY CHURCH.

ON the 19th June, 1715, Cobbe preached a sermon in furtherance of building a Church in Bombay, which fired the zeal of the community. After the sermon he waited on Governor Aslaibie, and here is Mr. Cobbe's own account of the interview :—

“ Well, Doctor, you have been very zealous for the Church this morning.”

“ Please, your Honour, there was occasion enough for it, and I hope without offence.”

“ Well, then, if we must have a Church, we will have a Church. Do you see and get a book made, and see what everyone will contribute towards it, and I will do first.”

The Governor subscribed Rs. 1,000, leaving a blank for the Company's subscription, which was afterwards filled in with Rs. 10,000. The Church was erected and opened in 1718. Very little change was made in its internal economy, and the pews and seats remained unaltered for a hundred years. In 1818, exactly a century after the Church had been opened for the first time, the pews were altered, and new chairs set down. Being entirely re-seated, the interior presented quite a different aspect, was much more comfortable for the worshippers, and more seemly for a house of God, inasmuch as some invidious distinctions between the well-to-do and common people had been abolished.

On Christmas day, 1818, it was re-opened with considerable éclat, when Archdeacon Barnes preached a splendid sermon. It was announced that Divine Service would be held at 10 A.M. and 4 P.M. every Sunday.

THE KIRK.

St. Andrews Scotch Kirk near the Apollo Gate was opened for public worship on the 25th April, 1819. The Revd. James Clow preached a sermon, and his text, taken from Nehemiah, was :—

“ And we will not forsake the house of our God.”

The Church, as a body, was in existence some years before this, and its beginning was in this wise. A small advertisement, in the most conspicuous part of the paper, appeared in the *Bombay Courier* :—

“ CARD.”

“ Divine Service, according to the forms of the Church of Scotland, will be performed next Lord's Day in the Mess Room of the King's Barracks, at 10 a. m. Government House, 15 November 1815.

JAMES CLOW.”

Mr. Clow, no doubt, was a guest of the Governor. Here, then, in the barracks, for two Sundays, Divine Service was holden. But the place was found too noisy and otherwise unsuitable. After this the Church Services were held in the Court House, where, on week days, the Criminal Sessions took place—now (1893) the dining-room of the Great Western Hotel.

There was to be no excuse for want of psalm books, for Baxter & Co. advertise, that they had received a supply :

“ IN METRE :

Translated and diligently compared with
THE ORIGINAL TEXT.

More plain, smooth and agreeable to the text than any heretofore allowed by the authority of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and appointed to be sung in congregations and families.

PRINTED BY AUTHORITY.”

Between 1815 and 1819, the congregation had not been idle, for I read that on the 4th February 1816, after Divine Service, the following gentlemen were ordained elders of the Scotch Church. John Stewart, Hugh Stewart, John Taylor, M. D., and William Erskine. Erskine was Sir James Mackintosh's son-in-law, now, or shortly after, Master in Equity, and known in future years as the author of the Life of Baber and other works.

There had been great difficulties about a spire. The “ powers that be ” (Sir Evan Nepean, Governor, 1812 to 1819) objected to a spire. The matter had to go to the India House, and two years elapsed before authority was obtained to erect one. These were the days before the Queen worshipped in Crathic Kirk. At length the spire was finished. It was a great boon to the Master Mariner, for it competed with the tall bral trees on the castle bastion as a guide into Bombay harbour. The spire, like most Scotchmen in their early years, had a hard time of it, and, in its upbuilding, was a type of the progress of religious liberty, which, after getting many hard blows and knocks, still points the way to heaven. One night, in the year 1826, it was shivered to pieces by lightning ; so its troubles were not yet over. Its enemies, of course, said that its promoters were punished for their audacity. The promoters treated the matter as a secondary consideration, compared with previous obstructions. Like Ajax, they could defy the lightning, but they dared not defy the India House. The Kirk's motto was, *nec tamen consumebatur* ; so they built another spire, which remains to this day, unscathed by man or the violence of the elements.

Mr. Clow's portrait still hangs in the vestry. About thirty years ago, the native servants were beginning to hold it in such veneration as to do pooja to it, a proceeding, of course, most

abhorrent to the feelings of the then Padre—Cook, or Macpherson. A white sheet was hung over the portrait, which exorcised the evil spirit and put an end to the worship of the dead.

The apotheosis of Englishmen by natives of India is a curious subject. We all remember *Nicolseyn* and his saints. I am certain the natives will be doing pooja to Sir Albert Sassoon's equestrian statue of the Prince of Wales in another generation. Look at that statue almost any time of the day you like, and you will see a group gazing at it. They are much exercised to understand, why the Queen's statue is white (marble) and the Prince's black (bronze)!

I notice that Colonel Wallace's tomb at Siroor is, as early as 1818, decked with flowers. In 1840, when Nesbit was there, they were praying to his ghost, and the worship may still exist.

There is the very fine monument, in the Elphinstone Circle, to Cornwallis. Go when you will, you will see flowers placed on the open book, or garlands on the figures. This is not a new custom. In 1825, it was thought by the natives to be a place of religious worship, and they called it *Chota Dewal*. Government tried to stop this, and issued some vernacular notices that it was a mistake. But it was of no use. When these feelings take possession of the natives they are not easily eradicated.

I read that in 1852, an organ was in use in the Bombay Kirk. The Calcutta Scotch Kirk had one so far back as 1818—*Lux ex Oriente*, of which Scotland has tardily availed itself.

RELIGION AND PHILANTHROPY.

The arrival of Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson in the next decade, 1820-30, gave an immense stimulus to Missionary enterprise, but the spirit was not dead, nor did it even slumber in this period, as the ample pages in the Magazines, devoted to Missionary effort, testify. In 1815, a branch of the Bible Society was started in Bombay. That Society had been founded in London in the year in which Napoleon had appeared on the war path; and now that his empire had been shattered to pieces, broke ground beyond the extremest limit of his conquests. In the same year, also, appeared the Bombay Society for the Education of the Poor. These two Societies, in 1815, are the only representatives of more than 100 educational and benevolent institutions which now (1892) crowd 58 pages of our Bombay Directory.

I have always understood (Dr. Wilson was unwearied in his praises of him) that James Farish was a man who, amid good and bad report, and in these troublous times of grim warfare, kept alive the spirit of religion, and, by a consistent life,

vindicated its claims to the attention of mankind. His name has almost faded into oblivion ; but it is worth remembering that, though he had acted as Governor, he did not disdain to keep a Sunday School in the Town Hall. He retired in 1841.

DOMESTIC OCCURRENCES.

As a rule, Births, Marriages and Deaths have been announced in this sequence. Occasionally "Christenings" and "Baptisms" are, in the period under notice, substituted for the first, and "Interments" for the last, but these vagaries speedily disappear, and we do not meet with them much after 1818. One jungle-walla takes exception to the priority of "births," and adds to his announcement of a son and heir, the unequivocal word, "legitimate." In 1822 an obituary notice closes with 'an amiable and beautiful young lady, aged 20.' And of a marriage, it adds "the bridegroom will come to £10,000 a year," and of the bride "a beautiful and accomplished lady." Anything *outré* seems to be put in to attract the *insouciant* reader. The following belongs to *fin de siècle* the 18th century : "At Tranquebar, H. Meyer, Esqre., aged 64, to Miss Casina Couperas, a very accomplished young lady of 16, after a courtship of 5 years."

BIRTHS.

For nearly the first half of the nineteenth century the announcement of births was in this wise :—

"The *lady* of John Smith, Esqre. of a son."

There was, however, a social boundary line, and below it all announcements were—

"The *wife* of John Smith, of a son."

or Mrs. John Smith, of a son. One fine day, however, in "the fifties," the whole Anglo-Saxon world changed its mind on this subject. "Wife" drove out "lady," and ever since has been paramount in all birth notices. In this Presidency, about the first example of the change was on September 14th, 1840. At Poona, the wife of the Rev. George Candy, of twins, a son and a daughter. Henceforth the custom ran like wild fire. "Lady" was ousted by "wife," as gentlemen are now by "the men" of fashionable society. The "men," in our young days in the Highlands, were the "unco guid."

Dr. Wilson, who was a model of correctness in everything he printed, thus announces his own marriage.—

12th August 1828,—Comely Bank, Edinburgh, Rev. John Wilson, Missionary to Bombay, to Margaret, daughter of the Rev. K. Bayne,* Greenock."

* On the dedicating of the fund which now constitutes the "Wilson Philological Lecture," in the getting up of which I had a small hand, he insisted more on the word "Missionary" being on the inscription, than the much coveted F. R. S.

OBITUARIES.

When the rich man died he had always a special paragraph to himself, *i.e.*, Nisbet of "Nisbet Lane" repute, and on August 14th, 1841, Dr. Milne is thus signalised. "One of the oldest and richest inhabitants of India; a misanthrope; wrote in the *Gazette* articles against Missionaries and against Government." This, no doubt, from the opposition paper.

AN EAST INDIAMAN.

The Commander of an East Indiaman was, of course, king on his castle: a great man and not to be trifled with. Sometimes an overbearing manner degenerated into sheer brutality. In 1818, a ship arrived in Bombay, having a passenger on board who had been in irons, and deprived of his servant, for a period of 21 days! He had hummed and whistled (it was a low whistle) in the presence of the Captain on the quarter-deck, and he continued to do so after he had been told to desist. The Captain threatened him with imprisonment, and he, the whistler, a young Lieutenant in the army, told the Captain that, if he put him in irons he would lose his ship. All this, no doubt, was very exasperating to the Captain, but could not justify such savage procedure. So the jury in Bombay, before whom the case was tried, gave the Captain their sense of his conduct by fining him in Rs. 5,000. Exchange was then 2s. 7d.

BUNGALOWS.

To speak of the names of the Bombay bungalows of this period is like raising the dead: *Westfield*, *Lowji Castle*, *The Beehive* and *Apollo House* still assert their existence under the same names in the end of the nineteenth century, as they did in the beginning of it. *Belvidere*, *Tarala*, *Non Parell*, *Randle Lodge*, *Ridgway Cottage*, *Huntly Lodge*, *Somerville Lodge*, *Prospect Lodge* have disappeared.* I imagine I have seen the *Hermitage*, *Storm Hall* and the *Mount*, which sheltered the Persian ambassador. The *Retreat* I have seen on the map. But where were *Belmont*, *Belleville*, *Breach House*, and above all, the *Parsonage*? Did it abut on our Cathedral? Or was it that tall house overlooking Sonapore Churchyard, which was called by the sailors, Padre Burrough's compound, and no wonder, from the fact, which he stated in 1818, that he had been Resident Chaplain in Bombay, 42 years!

In 1820 assistance was advertised to be given to cholera patients at *Malabar Point Bungalow*. *Parell* was of course Government House, and it still stands (1892), like a ghost in a garden of many memories. Will it be converted into a cotton mill?

* *Randle Lodge* was on Breach Candy, the *Beehive* and *Tankerville* are still visible. In the "Parsonage" are now (1894) the offices of Mr. Roughton, the solicitor.

MALABAR HILL.

Except the Governor's Bungalow, now-a-days at Malabar Point, the impression seems to be that there were no bungalows for European residents on Malabar Hill, till about 1840. This must apply to the west side, as we meet with an advertisement, headed Malabar Hill, under date of 4th December, 1816, of a house on the *East* side for sale, which had been built eight years previously, say in 1808. The compound contained 3,345 square yards, and the auctioneer describes it as a "beautiful country residence." It belonged to the deceased General James Douglas, with whom the undersigned regrets he cannot claim kindred, or otherwise score himself heir to the owner of the cognomen. We mention these particulars so that future antiquarians may be able to identify the plot, and mark down the spot where the Douglas first broke ground in this bosky wilderness. Possibly it may be the "Wilderness" itself, a bungalow of storied renown, which, by its honorable host in "the sixties," was often filled with the youth and beauty of Bombay in those days, when Fitzgerald, the gay Governor, led off the ball.

MAZAGON RESIDENCES.

The first birth recorded on Malabar Hill is on the 18th January, 1837.

"At the Craig",^{*} Malabar Hill, the lady of Charles Ducat, M. D.
of a son."

Then follows, 12 November, 1841:

At Malabar Hill, the lady of George Coghlan of a son, and 14th October 1842, at Malabar Hill, the lady of J. P. Laikins, Esqre., of a daughter.

Sir Robert Grant, the Governor, died at Dapoorie, near Poona, on the 9th July, 1838, of apoplexy. The cause of his death was reported to be, that he rode out in very heavy rain during the monsoon. On October 11th, Lady Grant was confined of a daughter, born after the death of the father, at Malabar Point. In 1837 several of our merchant princes, such as Harry George Gordon, lived at Mazagon; he became Chairman of the first Oriental Bank. At Mazagon, also in 1840, lived John Skinner, first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and subsequently partner of Jardine, Skinner & Co. In 1840 to 42, Robert Wigram Crawford's bungalow was the "Wilderness."

CORYGAUM.

In the heroic defence of Corygaum, where 500 kept at bay 25,000 men, Dr. Wyllie, a Scotchman, did some good work—

* Dr. Smyttan gifted his Malabar Hill bungalow to Dr. Wilson. Dr. S. retired 28th December, 1838. Dr. Wilson called his bungalow "*The Cliff*," and was said to have been offered a very large sum of money for it during the Mania. "*Craig* may have been altered to "*The Cliff*."

I mean, "threw physic to the dogs," and, sword in hand, cut up the enemy hip and thigh. How he earned his guerdon on that immortal day, was often told in after years, by camp fire on Dekhan hill, or in the grey metropolis of his native land. It earned him the soubriquet of "*The Fighting Doctor*." The emergency was there, and he, like Wilson, another assistant surgeon, who saved the life of the Duke of Cambridge in the Crimea, was equal to the occasion; but unlike Wilson he carried his honours with a steady head. Wyllie's valour was not a myth. It is written that he acted "a most distinguished part at Corygaum," and the document is signed:—"F. F. Staunton, the hero of Corygaum, Seroor, 25th January, 1818." Dr. Wyllie belonged to the Madras Artillery, and a story illustrative of his bonhommie, was told to me in 1869 by General Stretton, then one of the oldest officers of the Indian Army. It belongs, I think, to 1824, the cholera year, when within a very short time the Chief Secretary to Government of Madras, a Judge, and the President of the Medical Board, were all cut off suddenly by the fell disease.

"THE FIGHTING DOCTOR."

Scene—Artillery Mess, Madras. During dinner, a note is handed to Dr. Wyllie, who rises abruptly, begging to be excused.

Commanding Officer to the Doctor, in a low voice, as he is taking his departure—"I hope, Doctor, there is nothing wrong?" Nao thing pertikler. Mrs. Smith has a wee touch of *coalara morebus*. W'ell ga her a peel, and she'll sure be a' richt the morn."

This, no doubt, to put the party off the scent, as it was announced next morning that Mrs. S. had been safely delivered of a son! Next evening, as the dinner party were unfolding their table napkins, the Colonel, with a twinkle in his eye and full of humour, reconnoitred the sapient son of Esculapius thus, in the Doctor's accent—"Any more cases of *coalara morebus*, Dr. Wyllie?" And the plague was stayed.

DINNERS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

I am sure the men of this period were able to eat and drink more than we do, or could do with impunity. Take Malcolm for example, in October, 1811. On the 12th, there was a dinner to Mackintosh in the theatre; on the 16th, a dinner to Charles Forbes; and on the 19th, a dinner to Rickards, a civilian of 26 years standing. Malcolm presided at the two last, and was the Jupiter Tonans of all three. Here were three great public entertainments in eight days, speeding the parting guests from our island. Could any man among us do this now-a-days with impunity? I trow not.

During this decade, there were many big dinners. Malcolm was a better diner-out than Elphinstone. There was a Commemoration Dinner at Poona (of the Battle of Kirkee) on November 1818. I should like to have seen Elphinstone on that occasion rise to propose "The immortal memory of Burns," and hear him add the words: "Success to his offspring," for a son of Burns was there, and sung one of his father's blythest lays.

There is a Madras notification of February 1811, that, Mr. William Nicol Burns,* having produced requisite certificates of his appointment to be a cadet on this establishment, the Government in Council is pleased to admit him in that capacity, and promote him to the rank of an ensign, the date of commission to be settled hereafter. Was this the man, born in 1791, "the wee rumble gumption urchin of mine whom I named Willie Nicol, after a certain friend of mine," or was it he who stood of most interest, a man of pale face and gray hairs, at the Burns festival—Colonel James Glencourse Burns? Both these appointments were due, in the first instance, to the Marchioness of Hastings.

Sometimes a round of amusements lasted from daylight to dusk, or even far into midnight, and yet people carried their drink with surprising discretion. The strongest of our latter day good livers, I imagine, would think twice before gulping down all the good things contained in this invitation to the elite, for Saturday the 9th March 1811.

PIC NIC.

Meets at gunfire this morning on the Byculla Course, where the hounds will throw off a numerous field, and great sport is expected; afterwards Bobbery Hunting, &c., until breakfast, which has been ordered for 50 at the stand at 9; the party will then proceed to Lowji Castle, where various Hindustanee gymnastics, wrestling, pigeon shooting, juggling and tumbling will be exhibited till 4 o'clock, when a dinner, in the best English style, will be served up for the same number as at breakfast. The sports of the day to conclude with music, fireworks, &c.

The men of this decade (1810-20) were a sober and righteous race; but they were men. At a great entertainment given to General Abercrombie, son of the hero of Alexandria, on May 25th, 1811, to celebrate his conquest of Mauritius, it is recorded—and you will please remember the date, for there are no hotter nights in Bombay than in the end of May—:

"After supper the dancing again commenced and continued to a late hour, nor did the brilliancy of the scene lose any effect, until the rising sun began to eclipse the minor artificial illuminations of the night."

Ten years later on, the 2nd May 1821, the first General Meeting of the Bombay Highland Society, established for the cultivation of Caledonian proclivities, took place at Parell,

* 1828, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, Madras Army.

under the discreetest of men, Mountstuart Elphinstone, on which the '*Courier*' remarks: "Various other excellent songs were sung, but latterly the recollection of our friend was not quite so clear as in the early part of the evening to detail particulars."

Nothing now remains of this august Celtic Corporation (it died out about 1840) but a black-faced sheep's head mull, or Highland snuff box, silver and cairngorm mounted.

The entertainment given to Sir John Keane by Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy was the first occasion on which Parsee ladies appeared in public. Sir Jamsetjee left the room, and his temporary absence caused a feeling of suspense among the guests. Then the door suddenly opened, and Sir Jamsetjee made his appearance with his wife leaning on his arm, followed by his sons and their wives and his daughters. This was about 1841.

EDUCATION.

The following advertisement, dated 18th February, 1811, and signed John Forbes, we give, because it illustrates three things:

1st.—That Bombay did not confine its benefactions to local schemes. The subscriptions to this one already amounted to Rs. 7,224.

2nd.—That the Forbeses had already produced a strong Aberdonian feeling of clanship in the island.

3rd.—That the schoolmaster was abroad.

"Aberdeen Society, for the benefit of children of deceased clergymen of the professors in the University of Scotland."

Some of the confusion here may be owing to the printer's devil. Charles Forbes's speeches in the India House, and his Bombay letters, are models of perspicuous English. Manockjee Cursetjee, who must have been at school about this time, had a fair education, which enabled him to hold forth to kings, and, even to the Pope. I asked him about his teacher. His reply, that he was a Mr. Mackay in Mr. Joliffe's school near St. Thomas's Church, though of date 1822, shows that there was good education in Bombay about this period.

PINDARRIES.

The Pindarries were a never failing source of anxiety at this time. The *Bombay Courier* of 4th January, 1817, announces that communication from Siroor to Poona, and from Poona to Panwell, is unsafe without a guard; and no wonder, for reports came in on the 22nd February, that a body had appeared before Des-gaum, after having plundered Mhar, and that 700 of them were seen in the neighbourhood of Panwell, and made tracks in a northerly direction. Here follows how they harassed our soldiers.—

"On 27th, 4th December, 1861, the Native Cavalry, under Major Lushington, marched from 1 a. m. to 6 p. m., 70 miles after Pindarries, killed and wounded 7 to 800, and then by easy stages, made their way to Ahmednagar. Captain Drake was killed by a spear wound"

1816. The Bombay Marine Battalion was raised.

1817. The Poona Horse was raised, Siroor became their locale, and a pleasant habitation it is.

MERCHANTS.

On the 20th May 1818, appeared the following advertisement in the *Bombay Gazette*. —

“Messrs. Ritchie, Steuart & Co. have the honour to announce this establishment as a Mercantile House, the partners of their firm being
James Finlay & Co. Glasgow,
H. J. and R. Barton, Manchester,
Mr. James Ritchie and
Mr. John Robert Steuart.

This rivulet of type represents the fountain-head of a great firm which had much to do in moulding the destinies of Bombay during the next fifty years. Harry George Gordon, a partner in this firm, was, in 1838, voted first Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, while another, Michael Scott, was the wizard of 1864. Both these men had great talents, and the pale and classic features of the latter, with hair black as the raven's wing, will live in the memories of all who have seen him, and live in local history also, as the most conspicuous character of these enterprising and anxious and exciting times.

Panmure Gordon, writer and London financier (1892), is a son of the first, while Dr. Scott, the well known author of “Tom Cringle's Log” and the “Cruise of the Midge,” was the father of the second.

On April the 9th 1831, on board the “Upton Castle,” off the Cape of Good Hope, John Ritchie, Esq., 35, of Messrs. Ritchie, Finlay & Co.

1842, March 4th, died at Castle Tower, E. Argyllshire, Kirkman Finlay, Esq., late M. P. and Lord Provost of Glasgow, founder of the firm.

GLOBE TROTTERS.

Part of this decade was very awkward for globe trotters. On April 1818, Government issue a notice that passports were necessary for all Europeans, and any vagrants of this race found prowling about, were to be taken to the nearest English official, and if I remember right, a reward was offered for their apprehension.

The war correspondent also was at a discount. Archibald Forbes would have been a voice crying in this Dekhan wilderness; for the Bombay papers, by a Government Notice, dated December 25th, 1819, inform them that, during the Mahratta war, every article must be submitted to Government before publication. All which regulations were, no doubt, just and proper at the time.*

* Bombay was sometimes near enough to the seat of war. In January 1818, the firing of the guns was distinctly heard at the taking of Kurnalla (Funnel Hill).

RACES.

The Bombay Races and Hunt were in this decade (1810 to 20) in the full blush of prosperity. They took place in February; began with daylight, and ended in a big breakfast, which, most probably, before it was ended, annexed itself to a tiffin. The Races of 1819 are a fair sample. Mr. Remington's Cup was presented to the victor by Lady Grant Keir. The Forbes Stakes, £100,—which are still (1892) run for—, won by Mr. Warden's Arab horse *Hapoorie*, beating *Guzerat* and *Hots-pur*. The Ladies Purse, Rs. 400, with 5 five gold mohurs each, was run for by *Clan Alpin*, *Speculation* and *Grey Beard*.

4th Day.—The Malet Stakes.

5th Day.—The Bachelors Purse, Rs. 400 with 5 gold mohurs each.

6th Day.—The Gold Turf Cup, value 100 guineas, given by the Turf Club in 1802, and now in possession of Mr. De Vitre.

In 1816, for the purpose of attracting the fair sex, the Bombay Races were held no longer in the morning, but in the afternoon, a custom from which there has been, we believe, no departure.

The period, 1820-30 was an era of decline for both Hunt and Races. On 1st February, 1828, it is noted: "Bombay Races are not remarkable enough to be recorded." The following wail had appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* in 1827:—

"Twas in the olden time our Bombay Races
Commenced at day-light, spite of fog and dew.

° ° ° ° °

The Bobbery Hunt's Delight or Garry Owen
Was sure to set the nimble feet agoing.
All's over—early rising—breakfast—all
Yet what mementos do the names recal
Of spirits—blotted from the things that be,
Gone like the "Bobbery Hunt" and "Sans Souci,"
For though the Bobbery, when in search of game,
Were terrors to old crones and yelping pyes,
Convivial friendship will preserve their name
As those who bade the brightest fires arise.
And but once more to hear their bugle strain
Bombay might rouse thee to be gay again.

This spirited piece was headed "Lost Gaiety of Bombay."

In 1815 the races had been changed from the morning. Hence the allusion in the opening lines. Poona, this year, seemed more vigorous, and received from England eight couple of hounds in the highest condition, with four couple of whelps produced on the voyage. Calcutta up to 1840 held their races in the morning. The hunt there also involved a start at 4 A.M., and for this reason seldom more than 15 gentlemen responded, and the ladies, at both hunt and races, were very few.

THEATRE.

During the cold seasons of these eventful years (1810-20), the Theatre was in evidence, the actors being all amateurs. Many of the play bills lie before us. Some of the pieces were the *Road to Ruin*, the *Heir at Law*, *Old Mother Goose* and the *Wheel of Fortune*; and on one occasion, we observe, the whole is to conclude with a recitation of the celebrated poem of *Glenfinlas*, a piece which, at the moment, we cannot recal to memory. All these fancies were bodied forth in the old Theatre; but in 1818, after our great successes in Europe and the Dekhan, a bran new theatre was constructed. Doors open at 4, performances to begin at 7 precisely. Tickets for box and pit Rs. 8, and we observe (1811) no tickets were to issued for the gallery. Doubtless a select audience, and the proceeds for some charitable object.

Gentlemen, unless actors, were on no account to enter the green room, or go behind the scenes, and all gentlemen without ladies were earnestly entreated to make their way to the pit, leaving the boxes to the ladies and the gentlemen who escorted them.

1820-40—In August 1828, we read: "The Bombay Theatre is now a desert," and the writer attributes its decay to "the march of morality, the want of money, the growing love of early hours, fashion, and the progress of fastidiousness."

11th July 1829.—"The Bombay Theatre is now consigned to such ignoble purposes as the reception of Gogo cotton and Gunny bags, once fertile in good performers, as in the age of the Brooks, the Bellasis, the Stanley's and the Bells." 1831—Arrangements to open the Bombay Theatre which has been long suspended. 1834.—March 13th.—Theatre half filled. "We may now sing a requiem over the drama in this Presidency." 1835, July—Bombay Theatre offered for sale. "After Mr. Newnham left last year, there was hope for it." John Peter Grant was also a steady supporter of the drama, both in Bombay and Calcutta. 1835, October—Theatre sold to Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy for Rs. 50,000. 1807—"Theatrical displays are scarce worth attending." 1840, July 24th—A petition, signed by 425 inhabitants for a new theatre in Bombay. These notices sufficiently disclose the state of the theatre in Bombay, and its decadence for a dozen years.

From some observations we gather that the Native Theatre was not extinct, and what was called the "Legitimate Hindoo Drama," in Poona, in Sir Philip Woodhouse's time (1872-7), which flourished unabashed in its travesties of the English, until it was suspended by authority. The following refers to something similar, satirizing our noble selves. The time is 1830-40, scene the a Mofussil Court House. We merely give a

petit morceau before the curtain fell. As the case proceeds, and the time approaches for the midday meal, the butler comes in and announces to the Judge: "Tiffin tyar hi." This, of course, he does with joined hands and obsequious deportment. The Judge immediately stops the case, and is proceeding to leave the Court-room, when he is accosted by the officers of the Court, with "Pray, your lordship, what shall we do with the prisoner?"

Judex exit, with "D—n his eyes, hang him."

PRESS.

The *Gazette* and *Courier*, established about 1790, the latter by Mr. William Ashburner of the Civil Service, continued to be weekly papers for about forty years. Both then merged into bi-weeklies, and the *Gazette* in its daily form "died about 7 years ago" (1843). The *Star*, the *World*, the *Herald*, and *U. S. Gazette* were short lived papers. The *Courier* and *Gazette* were in shape something like the size of the (1892) *Overland Times* and *Gazette*, with not a twelfth part of the printed matter. In 1820, both the *Gazette* and *Courier* were flourishing.

On the 30th December 1821, at Poona, died Adolphus Pope, late sheriff of Bombay, and editor of the *Bombay Gazette*. In 1822, the Indian Press was much hampered by inland postage. A notice published in England states that the Post Office in India, will not deliver a newspaper at any distance under half a rupee, or 1s. 3d.

1825, the "*Bombay Courier*" published on Saturdays, the *Gazette* on Wednesdays, the *Weekly Gleaner* on Sundays. Only native paper, *Samachar Chandrika*, weekly. There were three dailies in Calcutta, the "*John Bull*" "*Scotsman in the East*," and *Hurkaru*."

Bombay Civil Servants were not seldom proprietors of papers. Col. M. Stanhope, at the East Indian House, March 21, 1827, stated that, though Mr. Fair was the nominal owner of the *Bombay Gazette*, Mr. Francis Warden, Chief Secretary, was the real proprietor, maugre the threat of the Chief Justice, September 16, 1826: "I will punish the editor and proprietor both with fine and imprisonment." As late as 1841, the proprietors of the *Bombay Courier* were Humphrey Francis Boaden, Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Henry Fawcett and Robert Wigram Crawford; and of the *Times*—Messrs Skinner, Gordon, Stewart, Dawson, Cardwell, Richmond, Mackie and Russell, all well known partners of leading firms in Bombay.

A writer in 1840 tells us of a catastrophe which took place in these unwholesome days. Three journalists died in as many months, Mr. Rousseau, sub-editor of the *Courier*, of cholera; Mr. Callum, editor and proprietor of the *Gazette*, of cholera,

aged 29; Mr. Brennan, editor of the "*Times*," and Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, of apoplexy, 36. The *Bombay Iris*, a weekly paper for Government servants, had a short life. Dr. Wilson's *Oriental Christian Spectator*, a monthly, begun in 1827, lasted until 1856, and comprehends 27 volumes.

Occasionally there were trials for libel. In June 1833, Mr. R. X. Murphy, editor of the *Gazette*, challenged Colonel Vans Kennedy. The Colonel refused to accept the gage of battle, whereupon the editor, in his paper, denounced him to the public and the army as a slanderer and a coward. Murphy was sentenced to pay Rs. 500. The same year, Captain Morley sued R. C. Money and Dr. Wilson for some printed matter in the *Spectator*, anent a tomb at Ahmednagar, which had been raised to a native mistress and converted into a Hindoo temple, and obtained damages, Rs. 350.

LAWYERS.

No names were more widely known in legal circles in the times in which they lived than Henry Forrester Constable. He was Solicitor to the Company, Captain of the Bombay Fencibles, had been 28 years in Bombay, died in 1802 at the age of 42, and was buried with military honours. John Henry Stephenson held the same office, and died in 1816 at Bussorah, aged 38. On his monument, in the Cathedral, may be found these halting lines,—

Bombay admired, bewails thy short career
And o'er thy ashes sheds a greatful tear:
What nobler monument can marble yield,
What brighter trophies deck the blazon'd shield.

In September, 1834, died James Morley. He had been a barrister in Bombay for fifty years.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

A great deal has been written on the wanton acts of the Portuguese in destroying the sculptures of Elephanta. We have not been blameless in this matter ourselves; Hector Macneil, writing from Bombay (*Archæologia*, Vol. VIII) in 1783, boldly charges "those heroes who grace our fleets and armies in India," with the spoliation. I dare say it was the fashion of the day, witness James Forbes and the Gate of Diamonds at Dubhoi. There is ample evidence of the truth of Macneil's assertion. In *Archæologia*, Vol. VII, 1785, there are three magnificent plates of heads brought by Sir Ashton Lever from Elephanta, and, that there may be no doubt regarding the extent of the plunder, the same Journal adds,—"The Society are possessed of a drawing of another group of figures from the same quarter by Captain Allen of His Majesty's ship Cumberland."

So late as 1840, a correspondent of the "*Asiatic Journal*"

writes, that he saw persons in Elephanta break off pieces of the statues to sell to visitors. In the *Bombay Gazette* of 1822, there is the following notice of what the writer saw in the Canara Caves in Salsette, some part of which, but not much, may still be visible.

"We observed very distinctly the vestiges of fresco painting, representing, in simple colours of red and blue, single figures of the Hindoo deities."

Charles Bonne, Governor, 1724-31, notices also the red and blue paint on the statues at Canara (*Archæologia*).

GAOLS.

During the first two decades of this century, the gaols were worth looking after. Some local Howard was abroad, for in 1821, the Grand Jury of Bombay told the Judge that the prisoners for minor offences ought to be separated from those of deeper dye.

In 1823 one debtor had been in gaol 9 years, and if the creditor made an allowance, the debtor might be detained all his life. All kinds of prisoners were mixed, for minor and heinous crimes, those convicted, as well as those waiting their trial. In 1827, an Englishman died in the Calcutta gaol. He had been in prison for debt for nine years, and on 7th August 1827, died at the great gaol of Calcutta, Mrs. Mary Moore, wife of Mr. Robert Moore, who had been imprisoned for debt, for upwards of 12 years. The number of executions had very much decreased, compared with old times. Mackintosh tells us that, in Bombay, from May 1736 to May 1763, there were 141 capital convictions and 47 executions; from May 1804 to May 1811, there were 109 capital convictions and no executions. A man executed on 20th July 1811, was the first European executed for 25 years in Bombay.

HIGH COURT AND SIR EDWARD WEST.

It was a great day for Bombay when the Supreme Court of Judicature was substituted for the Recorder's Court.

On the 8th day of May 1823, at a few minutes past 10 A.M., the new Charter of Justice was read and proclaimed, after which Sir Edward West took his seat as Chief Justice. On the publication of the Charter, a royal salute of 21 guns was fired, and, upon the Chief Justice being sworn in, 17 guns. The echoes had scarcely died away, when an event came upon Bombay like a thunderclap. The Chief Justice dismissed William Erskine from his office of Master in Equity and Clerk of the Small Cause Court. He next suspended five barristers, including the Advocate General (August 1823) and thirdly, but not lastly, he deported Fair, the editor of the *Gazette*. The fire did not burn low in these times.

WILLIAM ERSKINE.

Erskine did not kill himself, as James Outram's brother did under a somewhat similar charge. He died peaceably at Bonn, in 1851. The Advocate General did not kill himself, though a Solicitor took his place; and editors have nine lives, and never suffer death from any amount of persecution. I cannot imagine a case, though all these men are now in their graves, that is calculated to awaken deeper sympathy than that of Erskine. Any man, wounded in the tenderest part, and the object of unfounded suspicion, may be as true a martyr as ever died by stake or faggot. The flames are not material, but they burn nevertheless. Erskine's case was that of a sick man whose subordinates in his absence, allowed the affairs of his department to drift into confusion, and startle the auditor with a balance on the wrong side. When under examination, Erskine replied to the charge that "these irregularities were totally unknown to him, and that he had never knowingly derived any profit from them." That might have been sufficient, but he might have as well appealed to the winds. Erskine's probity was undoubted; but it was in vain that he had served under six Recorders, that he had been asked by the Royal Asiatic Society to sit for his portrait; that he was Mackintosh's son-in-law, that he was an Elder in the Kirk. The enemy blasphemed, and the Judge was inexorable. The enemy wrote that "Mr. Erskine's robberies on the public exceeded Rs. 2,000 monthly." "Erskine is condemned by implication, if not in express terms, of being guilty of fraud, oppression, extortion and corruption;" and the Judge refused to allow him to quit the country, unless he found two securities for Rs. 50,000 each, and his own personal bond for Rs. 100,000. Here was the sequence. Sir Edward West bestowed the office of Master in Equity on his nephew, and we are not surprised to read that, when he retired in 1829, "he left his own arena of exertion—unregretted by a mortal." But Erskine was like his native heather, which, though burned to the ground in one season, springs up the next.

AMUSEMENTS.

Bombay and Poona (1820-30) were not without their amusements. In connection with the revival of Cricket in 1825, we read:—

"There will be tents for the ladies, and as the cricketers are all to be dressed in an appropriate uniform, we anticipate one of the most gay and animated scenes that has ever graced our island.

"We feel infinite pleasure, in announcing amusements which tend to counteract the effects of this enervating climate, by raising the spirits from apathy, and the physical powers from

that feminine indolence which is generally rewarded by premature old age, skin hanging in drapery, and muscles reduced to pack thread."

This same year, on 28th October, there was a very big dance in Poona, in honour of Sir Charles Colville, Commander of the forces, and 200 were present on the eve of his departure. There was a suite of tents, and his great battles were blazoned in letters of light—San Domingo, Martinique, Egypt, Badajos, Salamanca, Victoria, Nive Nivelles, Waterloo.

There were country dances, quadrilles, succeeded by waltzes, and Spanish dances till 12. Then followed supper. Then they danced till dawn, when the morning gun was the signal for departure.

BOMBAY, 1823.

We get a glimpse of the state of Bombay in 1823 from a Calcutta visitor. The people were less cringing and subservient than they were in Bengal. The climate was preferable. A great paucity of punkahs even in the best houses. A dirtier town than Calcutta, and he adds—"The olfactory horrors of the Bombay bazars may possibly be equalled; they can be exceeded in no part of the world."

Wages, 4 palanquin bearers, Re. 1 per diem, table servant, Rs. 10 to Rs. 16 per mensem. Ayah, Rs. 12. House rent, half the Calcutta rate. A family mansion obtainable at Rs. 200 per mensem. Saw one of very large size that let at Rs. 300. *Parrell*, the country house of the Governor, can only be equalled in the bad taste of its architecture, by his residence in the Fort. "Also a pair of tigers guarding the gate of an elegant villa (Juganath Sunkerseth's) in Gorgaum," still to be seen (1892). Parties not so agreeable as in Calcutta. In Calcutta you call on people. Here you must wait until you are called on.

In Bombay every article of European produce and manufacture is double the price of Calcutta. Fish delicious; bread excellent; good water is scarcer than good wine. Here we "see ourselves as others see us." We will now hear what Bombay has to say of itself.

In the same year (1823) a Bombay man speaks more hopefully: "Owing to some big fires, Government wish the cotton bales removed from Bombay Green, and have appropriated a portion of the Esplanade near the Apollo Pier for the purpose."

And here follows a glowing anticipation of the Elphinstone Circle, built 1854-65. "The great square of the Fort, which we hope on some future day to see surrounded with buildings worthy the good taste and public spirit of the people."

This was the vision when the Town Hall had just risen above its foundation. The Town Hall took 15 years in building, and was finished in 1834, costing 5 lakhs.

The year 1826, opens with great changes and substantial progress. "Population has increased as if Cadmus had sown 'dragon's teeth,' mechanic houses have multiplied, charities have been founded, public tanks have been enlarged so as to afford a constant supply of water, the ways have been elegantly lighted, the Esplanade has been levelled and cleared, roads have been made, and edifices have arisen, designed with architectural taste and executed with masonic skill, and the Governor is congratulated on opening a sally-port through the ramparts, which has been so useful to the inhabitants of the Fort in getting water both by day and night, and by repairing old wells and making new ones in every part of the island."

HORMASJEE BOMANJEE.

Hormasjee Bomanjee, the most prominent native citizen of Bombay, during the first quarter of this century, died on the morning of the 8th March 1826, in the 60th year of his age.

He was for more than 30 years associated with Forbes and Company. He left 3 sons and 2 daughters. He was the youngest and surviving brother of builder Jamsetjee Bomanjee, and the celebrated merchant, Pestonjee Bomanjee, head of the Wadia family.

He was succeeded in his *station* by his nephew Naurojee Jamsetjee, head of the Parsee Panchayat, the respected head builder in the naval yard. When the news reached England, it was said "he died worth two millions." Though this was a great exaggeration, the family held a strong position, and dispensed festivity at Lowji Castle from early times. So shortly before his death as the 3rd August, 1825, Hormasjee Bomanjee gave a splendid entertainment at Lowji Castle, which was long remembered by the European inhabitants. His son Ardaseer upheld the position and dignity of the family far into the eightys. He, too, was of dignified deportment.

ROBBERS.

One of the roads referred to by the writer on Bombay was the beach road to Sewree, which was finished in 1825. The Colaba Causeway was projected, but still a work of the future : what need there was of lighting the streets, is apparent from the number of robberies.

In 1827 the robbers actually entered the house of the Chief Justice after he had publicly denounced their depredations. And in the same year Mrs Sparrow, wife of a member of Council, when returning from church, was attacked by an Armenian on horseback in her carriage, who seized the horse's reins and shot away the coachman's ear. About this time a gentleman was deterred from buying the "Wilderness," be-

cause it was so remote and exposed to the attacks of robbers. The island was infested that year with a number of audacious villains with swords, who hacked at whoever came in their way, sahib or servant. Numbers of palanquins were stopped on the Parell Road in 1826, and their occupants plundered. The same year, while attempting to enter the house of the Commander-in-Chief, a sentry, while loading his musket, had a stone thrown at him to his hurt.

In addition to the insecurity of property there were three great plagues. There was the plague of beggars, the lame the halt and the blind, and the armless flourishing their stumps. There was the plague of pariah dogs infesting every street in the fort, and every lane and road on the island, endangering the lives of those on horseback. There was the plague of hamuls, that rascal multitude who carried on the business of locomotion, bearing and overbearing, insolent as the buggywallahs in the sixties, and levying black mail and sometimes black death on whoever entered their dirty and infection-carrying palanquins. It was in vain that the Grand Jury proclaimed the ill-regulated condition of the palanquins and those who plied for hire. They were masters of the situation. If they struck, there was an end of all juries and dinner parties. The only owners of palkies are now (1893) the solicitors. And there was the plague of irate Judges.

Fancy at such a time as this men's minds being exercised with the problem :—Who was entitled to the affix of "Esquire?" Whether the servant of a Knight or Magister was the greater?

It was left to the genius of Lord Clare (1834) to solve this knotty question and a minute of council was issued that the following gentlemen be addressed as "Esquire."

Jugganath Sunkersett.
Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy,
Dadabhai Pestonjee.
Dhakjee Dadajee.
Bomanjee Hormusjee.
Framjee Cowasjee.
Nowrojee Jamsetjee.

Cursetjee Cowasjee.
Cursetjee Ardaseer Dady.
Mohamed Ali Rogay.
Cursetjee Rustomjee.
Mohamed Ibrahim Macha.
Hormasjee Bhicajee Chinoy.

This is a leaf from the Golden Book of Bombay which some of our golden youth (1893) may be pleased to look at.

From these troubles and tomfooleries, relief came to Bombay from an unexpected quarter. As early as the 20th May 1826, Mahableshwur had been pointed out as a suitable hill station, and on January 24th, 1829, a Parsee opened a shop there.

So the lieges found that the best way to make the most of Bombay, was to get out of it and recline their wasted minds and bodies on the Mahableshwur Hills.

HILL STATIONS.

The settlement on this hill widened the horizon and expanded the ideas of that generation enormously.

There had been watering places where people went for change of air in the hot season. But Bankote and Gorabunder (the Hippocoura of Ptolemy?) are quite as hot as Bombay. Vizrabhai, the Lady of the Thunderbolt, with its hot springs once quite fashionable, was, on the discovery of the new hill station, at once relegated to the natives, whose resort it has been ever since. It has not a few military memories, and its neighbourhood was once well ploughed up by field artillery. Here are a few lines redolent of feeling albeit destitute of poetic fire, culled from an old album, and dated 1786, on Vizrabhai.

"Hail sacred spring salubrious fountain hail !
Not far removed is that illustrious spot,
Where dearly bought the gallant *Hartley* gained
Increased renown, where with a faithful few
He bore the onset of a numerous foe.
Whose chief, unlike his dastard kindred, shew'd
The path to glory, and pursued the way,
And there the generous *Goddard* pressed with speed
(His fresh earn'd laurels blooming on his brow)
To share his partner's toils."

Matheran was not yet dragged from its obscurity ; but a gleam of light flashes on its darkness in 1822

Col. Delamain writes, "very rich scenery. In every direction noble mountains. To the north, Mathé Ram, bearing at first view a stupendous square fort on the top, but it is natural. It was however fortified."

This last is a hard nut for the topographer to crack.

OVERLAND.

On the 12th July, 1823, the first steam ship, the "Diana" was launched at Kidderpore, and had a splendid trial trip "velocity perfectly astonishing." On the 22nd January 1825, the steam ship "Enterprize" was launched in England to run to India. On the 24th November 1824, £10,000 was voted by the merchants of Calcutta to the first person who would navigate a steam ship to India. On the 16th August 1825, "Enterprize," of 500 tons, and containing 20 cabins, leaves Falmouth for Calcutta. On the 30th July 1828, Mr. Thomas Waghorn, of the Pilot Service in Calcutta, proposes to bring out the mails to Calcutta in 70 days, *via the Cape*. On the same day, Mr. G. A. Prinsep states that a letter might be carried from Calcutta to Cosseir in 29 days, and thence to London in 25 days.

On the 12th March 1829, the "Bengal Chronicle" styles Waghorn, "this intelligent, active, and enterprising individual." 15th November 1829, first steam ship to start from Bombay to Suez. Waghorn's services in opening up the overland route are matter of history. Not until this was secured, was Bombay called "The Rising Presidency."

Government advertise the fare Rs. 1,200, independent of the table. Servants, European, Rs. 150, natives, Rs. 75. The total expenditure of each traveller from Bombay to London was £300, which included the Rs. 1,200 passage money by the "Hugh Lindsay," from Bombay to Cosseir. We learn incidentally that in Calcutta in 1822, Rs 800 sicca were paid for a second class passage home by sailing vessel. A single letter Rs. 2-6, double Rs. 5, for postage.

MAILS.

1825—The Madras Mail to Calcutta, by land was done in 10 days 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ hours.

1826—From Bombay to Calcutta, an express Mail was done in 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ days.

COLABA.

In 1826 we read that "Colaba is becoming celebrated for unaffected and social intercourse, that scarcely a week passes without some particular manifestation of it."

The suspicions that it was unhealthy in the years which followed, took tangible shape in 1840, when it was announced, to the dismay of all concerned, that Colaba, having been pronounced by the Medical authorities a most unhealthy station for European troops, is to be forthwith abandoned as a military station. And in 1841, a Medical Board find that a deadly malaria is caused by the mangrove trees on the western shore, and the sea washing thereon twice in 24 hours. Colaba would have soon justified its name of "Old Woman's Island," had not the two Napiers, Charles and Robert, stepped in successively to avert this disaster. The spade and the hatchet were the remedies.

Bombay itself must have been bad, if we can believe the *Gazette* of 4th June 1841 :—"Calcutta is bad enough, Madras worse, but, with six times the native inhabitants, Madras is a Belgravia Square compared with Bombay."

Though the Colaba Causeway, connecting it with Bombay, was projected as far back as 1820, it was not actually commenced till 1835.

BANKS.

In August 1835, a Bank of India was projected in London with a capital of five millions. Though Baring Brothers were among the promoters it came to nothing.

On the 20th March 1838, a meeting, at which Sir Charles Malcolm presided, was held to establish a "Bank of Bombay," and on 1st October, a Charter was obtained from the East India Company. John Stewart a shrewd, solid, sagacious man, without the least touch of dash or cleverness, was Manager.

On the 12th March 1840, among the official directors appointed by Government, were—James R. Crawford, Accountant General, Lestock Reid, Secretary, Financial Department, and among those elected were the well-known names Harry George Gordon, James Wright, Framjee Cowasjee.

In 1840, their notes being depreciated in the bazaar, the Directors offer to discount them. In February 1840, W. W. Cargill, afterwards Secretary, (living 1893) signs a paper connected with this Bank, and it is a curious circumstance which we heard from one who was present, that Mr. Cargill, in 1865, was the first to make the Viceroy aware of the deplorable condition of the Bank of Bombay. It was in an after dinner conversation with Sir John Lawrence at Simla. Sir Bartle Frere at the time was blamed for tardily withholding this information.

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society removed their Library and Museum to the north rooms of the Town Hall which they have since occupied.

In 1832, several meetings were held to put an end to scribbling on the books of the Library. "Colonel Welsh's Memoirs," seems to have been well annotated.

Under 10th June 1833, we read, "Manockjee Cursetjee, a Parsee of some distinction, was proposed as a Member. The President supported his pretensions, and proposed that all natives, who sit on Grand Juries should be eligible. Dr. Wilson objected because it will give a preference over their countrymen of the highest literary attainments to those whose only literature was their acquaintance with the English language. The ballot showed 14 black balls against him."

In 1836, however, Manockjee was elected a non-resident member, and on 29 January 1840, was elected the first native member of the Bombay Royal Asiatic Society.

Since that time there has been a gradual accession of natives who are now a preponderating element in all the meetings of the Society.

And the Asiatic Library was not to be sneezed at. In 1839 Principal Mill of Calcutta, said to Dr. Wilson: "There is nothing like this on the banks of the Ganges." At the beginning of 1810, it consisted of 2,000 volumes, and the Society had an income of £400 to be devoted annually to the purchase of books. The Library was housed in Meadows Street, and the meetings of the Society were at this period held in the Theatre. No books were issued the last week of the year, when all books were ordered to be returned, and a searching examination was made as to their condition. Sir James Mackintosh advertises three times for people to return his own

books. Bombay then, as now, was in no hurry to return borrowed books.

There were some dungeons of learning, like Vans Kennedy, its Secretary, in the "Asiatic," but after Mackintosh left, Elphinstone held up the blazing torch, which illuminated his sphere of action with the light of day. Contributions came in from many quarters. Rich discoursed on Babylonian bricks, and another son-in-law of Mackintosh, to wit William Erskine, discussed on Elephanta, and Frank, the ill-starred brother of James Outram, produced a new theory of perpetual motion, and Malcolm, like Saul among the prophets, when he did manage to attend its meeting, stood head and shoulders above all the people at the meetings in this decade (1810-20). The natives were conspicuous by their absence.

But it is pleasing to record that no long time elapsed before they took their part both as hearers and as speakers, in the proceedings of this learned Society.

BIG INDIAN HOUSES.

The following were the leading Indian Firms in London on 18th February 1828 :—

Messrs. Bazett, Colvin, Crawford & Co.	Messrs. Finlay, Hodgson & Co.
" Cockerell, Trail & Co.	" Maclauchlan, Macintyre & Co.
" Fletcher Alexander & Co.	" Zachary Macaulay & Babington*
" Farlie, Bonham & Co.	" Small, Colquhoun & Co.
" Palmers, McKillop & Co.	" R. Scott, Fairlie & Co.
" Inglis, Forbes & Co.	" Gregson, Melville & Knight.
" Rickards, Mackintosh & Co.	" Hunter & Co.

THE UPPER TEN.

Hormusjee Jamseetjee Jejeebhoy Cursetjee and Jehangier Ardaseer, Davidass Hurjeevandass and Cajee Golam Hossein were conspicuous natives in 1823.

This year the Grand Jury consisted of the following names—

Benjamin Norton.	W. T. Graham.
W. Mainwaring.	T. Crawford.
William Nicol.	S. D. Beatty.
J. Saunders.	W. C. Bruce.
D. Seton.	William Peel.
A. Inglis.	J. Forbes.
J. Fawcett.	T. Riddock.
E. Elliot	A. Mackintosh.
F. Bouchier.	P. H. Hadow.

This is the earliest appearance I can find of the founder of the great firm of William Nicol & Co., which was almost an institution in Bombay for 50 years. He lived to a great age, and, though a little man in size, was in his time one of the biggest merchants in Bombay. His portrait as an old man is in possession of the Parsee Lady Mithoraine Batlibhai.

A meeting of the Asiatic Society in August 1823, at which

* No doubt the origin of the prenomen Thomas Babington Macaulay.

the Hon'ble M. Elphinstone presided, consisted of the Archdeacon, Messrs. Wedderburn, Farish, Henderson, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Blair Gordon, Kemball, Norris, Macleod, Captain Bruce, Dr. Sproule, Norton, Fawcett, D. Malcolm, Elliott, Harlow, Waddington, Ogilvie, Prinsep, J. R. Stuart, Brydon, Ritchie, Arbuthnot, Bruce and the Secretary General Vans Kennedy.

LONGEVITY.

There were two patriarchs of Bombay who disappeared in this decade. In 1815, died General Kenneth Macpherson, who had fought for Prince Charles at Culloden. His home was near Sion, on the Tanna road. Everybody knew and respected him. On the 9th May 1818, died George Dick. He had come out as a writer in 1759. He had never been out of Bombay except an occasional trip to Bancoot, for nearly sixty years. He died in Byculla, and his name may be seen in the list of the Governors of Bombay in 1795. He was universally respected and there is a tablet to his memory in the Cathedral. 1834, 15th May, at Madras, died General Sir Andrew McDowall, K.C.B. He had been 51 years in the country without going home. At his funeral 15 men of the 63rd regiment fainted, having walked four miles in the hottest time of the day, leaving their barracks at 4 P.M., of whom one Sergeant and two corporals died and were buried next day.

Charles Crommelin, Governor of Bombay, 1760-67. "Served the Company 35 years, returned to England in 1757, suffered greatly in trade, returned to India in 1772 as a free merchant, and now (1777) resides at Canton." He had joined the Company in 1732. James Forbes saw him at Goa in 1784 when he was acting British Consul.

Can this be the same man whose tomb in the Presidency graveyard at Kasimbazar, Morshedabad, is described by Mr. Beveridge, in the Calcutta Review, July 1892?

The inscription—

C. Crommelin, 81. December 25, 1788,
seems to indicate that he may have wandered there at last.
Requiescat in Pace.

EXPORTS.

The Bombay exports, in the three years ending 1815, amounted *ad valorem* to 45 crores. With the advent of machinery, England now exported, instead of importing cotton goods—which leads a merchant to exclaim, in 1819: "Who could have imagined fifty years since, that Manchester and Glasgow would send muslins to Bengal?" The tide had completely turned. One can scarcely imagine the horror with which people contemplated the spectacle of an East Indiaman loading coals for the East. And as for freights, one groan must suffice.

1817—"Freights have fallen from £8 to £6 per ton, which can never pay even the expenses of the voyage. What would have been thought of 15s. per ton? However, throughout most of this decade, exchange was 2s. 6d. and 2s. 8d.

EXCHANGE.

The reason of such a high exchange in India at this time is not far to seek. The whole Peninsula was swarming, in 1819, with armed men. War and tumult filled every corner of it. In such times there is no need to ask where money goes. It simply disappears.

The English Government were in great want of the sinews of war in India, for I think I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that the army of the Dekhan, with its subsidiary forces, numbered 100,000 men. Those men required to be clothed and fed, and the money somehow had to be found. Given time, the resources of England are always equal to any emergency, and bullion came out and exchange dropped and dropped, until, in 1824, it reached 1s. 8d. In 1816 it had been 2s. 8d. When the rupee reached its lowest depth of degradation, I cannot find a single groan. There were certainly no petitions, no meetings, no letters in the newspapers or journals. The situation was accepted, and men made the best of it.

A nephew who had gone home, recounted to his uncle the great improvements in Bombay. "I don't want to hear of your improvements. Give me back 2s. 8d. and 10 per cent." was the reply.

1817—6 months' sight, or 12 months' date, Bills on London
2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d. per Sicca Rupee.

1823—November 10th, 6 months' sight Bills 1s. 8d.

1824—April 5th ditto 1s. 10d. to 1s. 10½d.

 " June 19th ditto 1s. 8d.

1825—July 2nd ditto 1s. 10d.

1826—January 11th ditto 1s. 11d.

COUNCIL BILLS.

1843—January. The Chamber of Commerce, Bombay, "complains of evils and greivances to which trade is subjected by the extraordinary fluctuations and uncertainty in the rates of Exchange, caused by the mode in which the Court of Directors at present provide themselves with the funds required for the home charges.

"Prays that the Exchange operations between the two countries may be placed on a sound and proper footing and be conducted on some fixed, just and well understood principles."

In May 1837 Sterling Bills were ... 2s. 3d.

In July " ditto ... 1s. 9½d.

In Sept. " ditto ... 1s. 9d.

BULLION.

The shipment of bullion to India was attended with some risk. Angria's fleet and the Barbary Corsairs were by this time pretty well disposed off, and war risks were covered by Insurance. But what about your own flesh and blood, when a man's enemies become those of his own household?

One looks for piracy on the high seas, but not at Greenwich or Blackwall. Read the following: The year is 1816. Fairly & Co. despatch 13 chests of dollars (£13,000) to Calcutta, intended for the "Lady Campbell" lying at Greenwich. They were put into a hoy which proceeded down the river. Darkness came on. During the night a small craft hailed them and came alongside, apparently with two men only on board, to ask some questions. The sudden drawing aside of a tarpaulin revealed twenty men, who at once scrambled into the hoy, armed with pistols and cutlasses. "Your money or your life," was the question. They broke into the hold, and took seven chests, each containing four bags of 1,000 dollars each.

Some of the robbers with their plunder, were caught in the Essex marshes. Thinking it was low water, they sank three chests in the sand, meaning to recover them at their leisure. But when the tide went out, one of the box ends cropped up, and their purpose was baffled. The robbers were veritable pirates and were called the "Blackwall Gang."

INDIAN WHEAT.

I dare say, in these days, the export of wheat to England was deemed by most men chimerical. Lord Dalhousie gets the credit of having been the first to point out the advantages of an Indian wheat supply for England. But in September, 1818, H. T. Colebrooke, President of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, anticipated him by nearly forty years. Here are his words:—

"That India is capable of supplying wheat, and that the difference of the usual prices there and in England is amply sufficient to defray the charges of importation, and leave an adequate profit, has elsewhere been intimated."

Not until early in "the fifties," however, was anything done, when three cargoes of wheat found their way to London, to the infinite regret and loss of those who had the doing of it. I am within the bounds of truth when I say, that it took the importers *years* to get quit of it. There is an Italian proverb: "He that deals in corn shall die on straw." The importers nearly realised the truth of it. It was in the face of such difficulties that attempts were made to open the wheat trade.

ART. VI.—“IN THE DAYS OF VLADIMIR
SUN-BRIGHT.”

PROLOGUE.

“A giant oak upon a headland,
A golden chain among the leaves,
Where, day and night, a cat of learning
Along the chain a circle weaves.
And on the right, he sings a legend,
And on the left, a story tells.
There marvels are :—The wood-sprite wanders ;
A water-witch is weaving spells.
Among the trees, on sightless pathways,
Are tracks of monsters seen no more.
A hut, on crooked claws uplifted,
Without a window or a door.
Through wood and vale, dim voices rumble ;
And, at the dawn, the billows tumble
Along the rugged rocky coast ;
And thirty knights, in armour shining,
Step forth across the waves inclining,
Before their sea-weed bearded host.
A princess in a dungeon weeping,
A grey wolf near her, vigil keeping,
And there a king's son, as he passes,
Takes prisoner a horrid fear.
Among the clouds, before the masses,
Above the woods, along the sky,
A wizard and a hero fly.
Yaga within her bowl of stone
Goes trundling onward all alone.
King skull lies gasping on his gold,
There breathes the life of Russia old.
There was I led ; drank draughts of mead ;
And saw the oak upon the headland ;
Beneath it sat. The cat of learning
His wondrous stories told to me.
One I remember, as he told it,
To all the world I now unfold it.”

PUSHKIN,
Ruslan and Ludmila.

IN the throne city it was, in Kieff ; in the city of Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright. A festival, a day of honour for princes and warriors ; for strangers in the city and merchants ; for all who happened to the feast. When the guests had eaten at the long tables ; when they had drunk green wine and mead ; filled with feasting, they began to boast. One boasted of his might in war. One boasted of his noble birth. Another, of his swift horses. Another, of his silken cloak.

But among all assembled, Stavyor Godinovich alone, the young merchant guest from Chernigoff, ate not nor drank not ; nor broke the white swan's flesh ; nor boasted of anything.

To him through the hall came Vladimir Sun-Bright ; to Stavyòr spoke words like these :—

Nay, then, young Stavyòr Godinovich, why sittest thou, eating not, nor drinking, nor feasting ; nor breaking my white swan's flesh, nor boasting of anything ? Or haply the men of Chernigoff have nought to boast !

When Stavyòr Godinovich made answer :—

Little need have I to boast among you. If I boasted,—should I boast of my father's name ? But my father and mother are dead and gone. If I boasted,—should I boast of my golden wealth ? But my golden wealth is safe enough. Little gains and little coins, I keep not. If I boasted,—should I boast of my flowered robes ? But my flowered robes are hardly worn. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master tailors. They sew me new castàns and cloaks. A day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; to your princes and your warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my leathern shoes ? But my leathern shoes are little used. I have ever thirty youths in my house ; thirty youths, all master shoemakers. They sew me leathern shoes all new ; a day I wear them ; two days I wear them ; then bring them to the booths on the market place ; I sell them to your princes and warriors, and take the full price unbated.

Or should I boast of my swift horses ? But my swift horses,—I hardly ride them. I have thirty mares of golden sides that ever bear me unblemished foals. The best of them I ride myself ; the worse I drive to the market place. To your princes and warriors I sell them, and take the full price unbated.

Little cause have I to boast among you. Or should I boast of my new-wed wife ? Of Vassilissa, Mikùla's child ? Of her forehead, whiter than the moon ; and her hair that glimmers like the stars ; and her brows blacker than the sable fur ; her eyes are brighter than the swift falcon's wing. She would buy and sell you, princes, warriors ! and for thee, Vladimir Sun-Bright, she would make thee mad !

The faces of the guests grew black ; and his boasting pleased not Vladimir Sun-Bright. And Vladimir, full of anger, spoke words like these :—

My servants all ? my faithful servants ! Seize young Stavyòr Godinovich ! By his white hands seize him ; by his fingers with their golden rings ! Hale him away to the chill prison, for this boasting of his, and words of little courtesy. Feed him there on bread and water, nor for less nor more, but for six full years. There may Stavyòr win back his senses ; there let him

find his wits again. For we would see how Stavyòr's new-wed wife may draw her boaster from the dungeon; how she buys and sells you, warriors, princes; and for me, Vladìmir, how she makes me mad! And the servants, hearing, seized Stavyòr Godìnovich; by his white hands seized him; by his fingers with their golden rings. And they carried him to the chill dungeon, buckled with bolts of steel, and locked with bars of iron, giving him for food bread and water.

Then sent Vladìmir Sun-Bright a stern envoy to Chernìgoff, the city of Stavyòr Godìnovich: to set a seal upon his house, to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

At that season, to Stavyòr's young wife, to Vassilissa, Mikùla's child, came the joyless tidings of her well-loved husband Stavyòr Godìnovich; that by Vladìmir Sun-Bright, Prince of Kieff, he was cast into the dungeon of the prison; nor for more nor less, but for six full years.

Then Vassilissa thought within herself:—To ransom Stavyòr with money?—nay, I may not ransom him. To save Stavyòr by force? nay by force may I not save him. Haply I may win Stavyòr from the dungeon by woman's wit and woman's craftiness.

Went then Vassilissa, Mikula's child, through her long white halls of stone; and Vassilissa cried aloud in tones most pitiful—Come! hasten hither, my faithful servants! cut off my chestnut hair; bring me an envoy's dress; saddle me a war-horse fit for heroes!

And her servants, obeying, hastened to her, cut off her chestnut tresses like a man's; brought her such dress as envoys wear, and saddled her a hero's horse. Vassilissa, clad in the envoy's robe, called herself envoy of the golden Horde; the stern envoy, Vassili, Mikùla's child. Then gathered she brave comrades, forty youths, strong wrestlers; forty youths, skilful archers, and came thus as envoy toward Kieff, the city of Prince Vladìmir Sun-Bright.

And they were come already halfway, when a stern envoy from Kieff met them. Then the envoys rode together, and greeted as great envoys are wont; joining the hands with courtly kiss. The Kieff envoy questioned them:—greeting to you all, good youths from far? whither journey? where does God lead you? And they answered to the envoy words like these:—

From distant lands are we; from the golden Horde; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king. We journey toward Kieff, the throne-city of Vladìmir Sun-Bright; to receive from him the unpaid tribute, nor for more nor less, but for twelve full years; for every year three thousand pieces. Then the Kieff envoy bethought him; bethought him, and spoke in answer:—

I also, a stern envoy from Kieff, journey to Chernìgoff, the city of Stavyòr Godìnovich ; to set a seal upon his house ; to bring his new-wed wife to Kieff.

Then the brave youths from far addressed him :—

We ever made halt there, but now, passing by, we halted not. For the doors were closed, and Stavyòr's young wife was gone to distant lands, to the golden Horde.

Quickly the Kieff envoy turned him back, and journeyed to the city of Prince Vladìmir Sun-Bright. Told to Vladìmir secretly that, from distant lands, from the golden Horde, a hard ambassador was come toward Kieff ; from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king. And Vladìmir was troubled ; and haste and hurry were through the city, to sweep the streets and deck them with pine branches. Before the gates they waited for the envoy, from the dog, fierce Kàlin, the Tartar king.

The stern envoy Vassìli, Mikùla's child, riding not to the city Kieff, spread his white tent in the open ; at the white tent leaving his companions, rode alone to Kieff, to Vladìmir Sun-Bright.

The envoy rode forward to the gates ; then sprang from his battle horse, and struck the lance butt in the ground ; hanging the reins on a golden nail. Asking not those that waited without, entered straight the walls of stone. Mounted the stairway in silence, crossing the ante-chamber, entered the Prince's banquet hall. Then crossed himself by scripture ordinance, bowing to all by rule of courtesy. Bowed before Vladìmir and his princes ; and with signal honour to the prince's niece, young Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladìmir to the stern envoy :—

Hail to thee, envoy of the golden Horde ! Be seated with us at the oaken tables ; rest thee of the weariness of thy journey.

But the stern envoy made answer :—

Nay, Vladìmir of Kieff ! not thus may envoys rest, not for this are envoys sent. I come from the dog, fierce Kàlin, to claim from thee the unpaid tribute ; nor for more nor less, but twelve full years, for every year three thousand pieces. And for me, the envoy, Vassìli Mikùla's child, I would receive in marriage thy well-loved niece, thy niece Zabàva Putyàtina.

Then spoke Vladìmir, Prince of Kieff :—

Be it so, Vassìli, Mikùla's child. But I would weigh the matter with my niece. And, leading her forth, Vladìmir questioned her, and took counsel with his niece :—

Answer me, well-loved niece ; wilt thou wed the envoy ? wilt thou wed Vassìli, Mikula's child ?

But Zabàva answered him secretly :—

Nay, uncle well-beloved, what perverse purpose is thine ?

What is this thou hast dreamed of? wed not a maiden to a woman, nor make the laughing-stock for holy Russia!

Then spoke Vladimír, Prince of Kieff:—

Nay, but well-beloved niece,—why should I not wed thee to the stern envoy; to the envoy of the dog Kàlin, the Tartar king?

But Zabàva answered him:—

Nay, is this no envoy, but a woman! For the signs of womanhood I know them. As a swan swims, she walks the high way, and mounts the stairs with little steps, seats her on the bench with knees together, glancing hither and thither under her eye-lids. Her voice sometime piping like a woman; and her waist is slender like a woman, and her hands are pliant like a woman; and her fingers taper like a woman, and the wedding ring marks still upon them! Nay, such a pair of us wed, would die of weariness!

Then Vladimír Sun-Bright of Kieff made answer:—

I go to make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth, but a woman, then will he not wrestle like a man.

And Prince Vladimír chose out seven young wrestlers, brothers five, Prichteuka, and the two Khapyloffs. Brought them forth to the wide court-yard, went then to Vassili, Mikùla's child, speaking to him words like these:

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make thee pastime with the wrestlers, to contend with them on the broad court-yard? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child:—

Nay, I have none to wrestle with them; my wrestlers are waiting in the open. Or should I vie with them myself?—for from a child I played by the highways, joining me in the children's battle games.

And so went forth to the wrestlers in the court-yard, where they stood in the midst of it, young Vassili, Mikùla's child.

Grappling with his right hand three wrestlers; grappling with his left hand three wrestlers; hurled them together and cast them from him, and the seventh overwhelmed beneath. And the seven lay, and rose not again.

Then Prince Vladimír spat, and so returned. Nay, foolish Zabàva, scant of wisdom, though thy locks are long, thy wit is short. A woman! thou sayest, of such a hero as was never seen in embassy!

But Zabàva bent not to the Prince's words.

Nay, Prince and well-loved uncle; no stern envoy this, but a woman; with all the signs that women show!

Then spoke Vladimír of Kieff:—

Once more I make trial of the envoy; if he be no youth but a woman, then will he not bend the tough bow.

And so chose forth twelve archers, famed all, and great warriors; and came to Vassili, Mikùla's child:—

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child ! wilt thou make thee pastime with the archers to contend at a verst off, with the tough bow ? Answered Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

But I have none to vie with them. For my archers are waiting in the open. Or should I contend with them myself ?—for from childhood I played by the highways, and with the others bent the tough bow !

Then the twelve archers going forth, bent their tough bows against an oak, striking the oak from a verst off. But from their keen-pointed arrows, and from their shooting worthy of heroes, the oak shivered only, as though the wild winds were abroad

Spoke the envoy Vassili, Mikùla's child :—

Nay, thou Vladìmir, Prince of Kieff, not for me the bows of thy heroes ! Bid rather to bring mine own bow, that follows me ever from distant lands.

Swiftly went the brave youths ; under one end of the bow, five youths ; under the other end, other five. And thrice ten youths bore the quiver, and the arrows of hardened steel. Then spoke Vassili the envoy to Vladìmir :—

Now, Prince, my turn to make thee pastime ! And his left hand grasped the arrow of hardened steel, and drew the tough bow to his ear ; and the silken bow string sang aloud to the tough bow, and the arrow of hardened steel cried shrilly. The strong, mighty heroes were smitten down with the wind of it ; and Prince Vladìmir fell upon his knees. And the arrow lashed upon the oak, and rent the oak into knife handles, and the envoy Vassili spoke words like these :—

Sad pity for the knotted oak, but more pity for my arrow-head. For never may I find it in the open !

But Prince Vladìmir spat, and so returned ; and Vladìmir spoke within him words like these :—

Shall I myself make trial of the envoy ? And so bid them to bring the chess-board, and to set the golden pieces ; and to the envoy spoke words like these :—

Young Vassili, Mikùla's child, wilt thou make trial with the chessmen, as they move the pieces in foreign lands ?

And Vassili, Mikùla's child made answer :—

But my skilful players are in the open. Or should I vie with thee myself ?—for from a child, I have ranged the chessmen, and checked the others, and checkmated them ! Come then, thou skilful player Vassili ; stake thy unpaid tribute on the issue ; and I, the Prince stake my city Kieff !

Then the two began to move the pieces, ranging to and fro across the board. In the first, the envoy had advantage ; yielding not to the skill of Vladìmir Sun-Bright. At the second, put the Prince in check ; yet another, he won the game. Check, and mate, and all the pieces fallen !

Come, then, Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou hast lost to me thy city Kieff!

And Vladimir, the Prince made answer:—

Take rather, envoy, my head and my princess? But the envoy answered words like these:—

Nay, I need thee not, nor thy princess! Thy Kieff, too, I need not! give me rather to wife thy niece Zabàva Putyàtina!

Then Vladimir, joyful, speaking no more with Zabàva, consented to the wedding of his niece, and the stern envoy of King Kàlin:—

All praise to thee, Vassili, Mikùla's child! Forthwith, if thou wilt, the wedding and the festival!

And they prepared and made ready the festival; and the day of honour for the wedding. And the third day of the feast was come; and to-day they should go to the church of God. But the envoy was cast down, and sad of face; and Prince Vladimir thus addressed him:—

Nay, but young Vassili, why art thou not merry? Why dost thou droop thy dauntless head? And Vassili the envoy answered:—

Something in my heart hath made me sad! Or my father lies dead at home; or my mother has entered her long rest. Hast thou by thee merry zither-players, skilled to play the twisted zither? And to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

Then brought forth Vladimir skillful zither-players; and they played, but not merrily, nor could they cheer the envoy. And Vassili, the envoy, spoke again to Vladimir:—

Hast thou, Vladimir of Kieff, none amongst thy prisoners here, who are skilled with the zither?

And Vladimir brought forth prisoners to play upon the zither. Played all, but yet not merrily. And the envoy Vassili spoke again:—

Is there not among you in Kieff, a merchant guest from Chernigoff? One by name Stavyòr Godinovich? For a fame of him is abroad, that his skill surpasses with the zither; and to sing of new days that are with us, and to sing of old days that are gone.

And Vladimir Sun-Bright spoke within himself:—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr. If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath; but sent to bring Stavyòr Godinovich. They brought Stavyòr forth from the dungeon, and led him to the feast of honour. And the envoy rose swiftly to his feet, and set Stavyòr beside him on the oaken bench. And Stavyòr began to try the zither, and to twang one string to another. And one string he had from the city Kieff; and one string from

Chernigoff town ; and the third from the Emperor's city, and the Bosphorus. And he began a holy and mighty chant, in honor of the prince and of the princess. Then sang he songs from across the sea ; and the princes and warriors marvelled ; and the envoy fell into a dream. Then the envoy addressed Stavyòr, and spoke to him words like these :—

Hail to thee, merry zither-player ! Can it be, Stavyòr Godinovich, that thou knowest me not ?

But Stavyòr Godinovich answered :—

Nay, and how should I know thee ? Then the envoy spoke words like these :—

Vladimir Sun-Bright, I need not thy unpaid tribute ; but give me rather this merry youth ; give me rather Stavyòr Godinovich ! And Vladimir the Prince, thought within himself :—

If I loose Stavyòr, I lose Stavyòr ! If I loose him not, I loose the envoy's wrath ! But Vladimir dared not loose the envoy's wrath ; and delivered up Stavyòr to the envoy out of hand. And the envoy uttered words like these :—

Come then Stavyòr Godinovich ! Let us together to the open, to my brave companions. And, seated on swift horses, they rode and came to where the brave companions were. And Vassili the envoy entered the white tent, and returned Vassilissa, in woman's robe :—

Hail to thee, Stavyòr Godinovich ! Or dost thou not yet know me ?

Then answered Stavyòr Godinovich :—

Thou art my well-loved wife ; thou art Vassilissa, Mikùla's child !

How came it that thou Stavyòr, Godinovich, wast cast into the dungeon of Vladimir Sun-Bright ?

For that I boasted thee my new-wed wife ; how thou'ldst buy and sell their warriors and princes ; and, for Vladimir Sun-Bright, thou wouldst make him mad ! But let us mount quickly our swift horses, and homeward away to Chernigoff !

Then spoke Vassilissa, Mikùla's child :—

No honour nor praise of worthy youth were it to us, to steal away like robbers out of Kieff ! Return me rather to play the wedding out ; for princes and warriors are bought and sold ; and for Vladimir Sun-Bright, I have made him mad ! So they returned to Kieff to Prince Vladimir ; and Vassilissa thus addressed him :—

Know, Prince Vladimir Sun-Bright, I, the envoy Vassili, am Vassilissa, Stavyòr's young wife. I am come to play the wedding out. Give me, therefore, thy comely niece in marriage !

Then spoke Zabáva Putyàtina : " See to it my uncle, Prince Vladimir ! Thou 'ldst have wed a maiden to a woman ! Thou 'ldst have made thee laughing stock for holy Russia."

Thus spoke Zabàva Putyàtina ; and Vladimir Sun-Bright hung his dauntless head in shame ; with bright eyes downcast, upon the well-tiled floor. But after a little he spoke words like these :—

Praise to thee, Stavyòr Godìnovich ; for thou hast boasted well thy new-wed wife. For she bought and sold us, warriors and princes, and for me, Vladimir, she made me mad ! And for that brave boast of thine, trade thou ever with my city Kieff ; trade thou ever without tax or tribute !

So they departed and went from the city Kieff to their own Chernìgoff ; young Stavyòr Godìnovich, and Vassilissa, Mikula's child, and the prince and princess bore them company.

So they sang Stavyor of olden time,
By the silence of the purple sea.

C. J.

ART. VII.—MORFILL'S POLAND.

Poland. By W. R. Morfill, M.A., Reader in Russian and the Slavonic languages in the University of Oxford, &c., &c, (Story of the Nation Series) London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1893.

IT is a favourite theory of a school of historians that the life of nations is mortal, like that of individuals; that they are born, and grow, and die; that their existence may be divided into periods of lusty youth, stormy or prosperous middle-age, and senile decrepitude. But it is seldom that the history of a nation affords us such a conspicuous example of this theory in a clear view of its beginning and its end, its rise and its fall, as is allowed by the fortunes of Poland, narrated by Mr. Morfill in his latest contribution to the "Story of the Nations" Series.

Poland was originally an appanage of the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperial European system with its centre in Germany which took the place of the Roman Empire of the West. She was a member of the European comity of nations for a thousand years. She was a great power, while Russia was still under the Tartar yoke, and Spain was struggling to free herself from the domination of the Arabs. And it is now just a hundred years since Europe witnessed her death agonies, and assisted at her funeral obsequies.

The story of Poland is invaluable to the historical student, for the clear illustration of cause and effect which it affords, for the political lessons which it teaches the more plainly by manifest results.

The shortcomings of the French *noblesse* in the eighteenth century ruined their ancient monarchy and their own order: the failure of the Anglo-Irish landlords to fulfil the duties of their station, now threatens the dismemberment of the United Kingdom; but the misconduct of the Polish aristocracy was the clear cause of the ruin of their country, and of the obliteration of her name from the roll-call of the nations. Poland was the only state in Europe in which the original principles of the Feudal System remained in force to the last; in which the limited monarchy of the Middle Ages was not supplanted, either by an absolute monarchy as in France and Spain, or by a constitutional monarchy as in England and Sweden.

In Poland alone no standing army, depending on the Crown and ready to enforce its authority, usurped the place of the feudal militia, and threatened the prerogatives of its chiefs. No middle-class arose between the noble and the peasant,

representing trade and commerce, art and industry. The Poland of the eighth century, with a hundred thousand nobles ruling absolutely over the lives and fortunes of ten millions of serfs, had become an anachronism in the eighteenth, which could no longer be tolerated in civilized Europe, in the era which gave birth to the French Revolution.

Yet Russia, with a constitution similarly anachronistic, survives and flourishes ; an oriental despotism in a Christian and European community, an absolute autocracy in a world, either wholly grown, or daily growing, more democratic, with all her shortcomings, she remains the head of a great political and religious system, representing the faith of eastern Christendom and the hopes of the Slavonic race. Poland, too, was a Slavonian State, but her Catholic religion put her outside the pale of Slave sympathies, while her alien descent always excited the antipathy of her Teutonic and Scandinavian neighbours. Religious bigotry separated her from her kinsfolk ; and race antipathy from her co-religionists. An aristocratic oligarchy in the Europe of the eighteenth century was an anachronism, a nation of Catholic Slaves was an anomaly ; and both have now ceased to exist.

The successive invasions of the lands of the decaying Roman Empire by swarms of barbarians from the North and East, were concluded with the Slavonian migration which brought the Chrobatians, or Croats, to the shores of the Adriatic, and the Czechs and Poles to the frontiers of Germany. The early history of the Polish nation, as narrated by its own annalists and romancers, is a mass of legendary fable, which Mr. Morfill has not taken the trouble to transcribe, founded on the simple principle found in the tenth chapter of Genesis and other oriental ethnologies, of personifying the general name of a people or nation as its ancestor or founder. The story goes that the Slavonians migrated from the shores of the Black Sea to Central Europe under the guidance and leadership of three brothers, named Lechus, Cechus, and Rusus. The first founded the kingdom of Poland, the original Slavonic name of which was Lech, by which appellation it is still known to the Ottoman Turks as Lehistan. At the spot on which Lechus fixed as the termination of his wanderings, he had a tree cut down to make room for his permanent abode ; and in the top branches of the fallen tree was found an eagle's nest, from which circumstantial omen the chieftain adopted an eagle with outstretched wings as the symbol and crest of the new kingdom ; and the white eagle ever continued to be the national badge of Poland.

Cechus founded the Slave kingdom of Bohemia, the people of which were called Czechs after him ; and the third brother,

Russus, became the ancestor of the Red Russians, or Ruthenians, of Galicia.

The myth proceeds to relate how Cracow, the old capital of Poland, was founded by Cracus; a descendant of the Gracchi, famous in Roman history; and how the most ancient dynasty of the Polish monarchy known to authentic history was founded by a peasant, or wheelright, named Piast, aided by the miraculous intervention of angels.

The actual history of Poland begins with the king reputed to be the fifth of the Piast dynasty, Mieczyslaw, or Mieszko, who reigned in Poland from the year 962 to 992 A.D. The Western Slaves were naturally much affected by the influence of their more civilised and Christian neighbours of Germany; and the Bohemians had already become Christians. Mieczyslaw married a daughter of the king of Bohemia, and adopted her faith; and his people readily followed his lead. The form of Christianity which they adopted was that professed by the Western Church, while the Russians and the Southern Slaves, who were converted from Paganism about the same time by the labours of Byzantine Missionaries, joined the Greek communion: and Poland thus found herself severed from her kindred Slavonian nations by a difference of creed, which was in those days a controlling political force.

The name of Poland was adopted from the vast plains (Pola in the Slavonic tongue) stretching from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Black Sea, which were the principal natural features of the new kingdom. Mieczyslaw paid homage to the German Emperor Otho, and was admitted as a feudatory of the Holy Roman Empire, under the title of Grand Duke of Poland: his son and successor Boleslaus the Brave, received the title of king from the same monarch; but it was subsequently suffered to fall into abeyance by the Western powers, and it was not till several generations afterwards that the style of royalty was solemnly conferred upon the Sovereign of Poland by the Emperor and the Pope. The Crown was elective, as it was originally in all the kingdoms of Europe; but as in the case of the Saxon monarchy of England, the son generally succeeded to the father's throne, subject to the approbation and confirmation of the popular voice. Four and twenty kings of the Piast dynasty succeeded each other on the throne, though not in a direct line, and their reigns occupied a space of four hundred years.

The late Poet Laureate wrote—

“Oh, for those days of Piast, ere the Czar,
Grew to this strength amid his deserts cold.”

Many of these kings are distinguished in Polish history by nick names; as Boleslas the Bold, Boleslas the Wry-mouthed,

Boleslas the Curly (Crispus), Leszek the White, Leszek the Black, Ladislaus Longshanks, Ladislaus the Short, who reigned long, resigning and returning to the throne three times. Casimir the Great reigned forty years, and in his time Poland was at the zenith of its power and prosperity. It had survived the desolation wrought by the Mogul invasions, which recurred through a period of fifty years in the thirteenth century. The greatest of these raids was made by Bâtú Khán, the grandson of Changhiz Khán, with a horde of half a million of Mogul horsemen. After subjugating Russia, he entered and traversed Poland, his destroying bands eating up the country-like a swarm of locusts. The Poles fell back before him till they were joined by the German princes and the Teutonic knights, who united with them to give battle to the savage invaders at Liegnitz, in Silesia. The Christians were overwhelmed by the multitude of the Pagans; and the victorious Moguls filled nine sacks with the right ears of the slain.

From thence Bâtú Khán turned southwards into Hungary, and Poland was evacuated by his followers for fresh fields and pastures new. But for some time after they made frequent inroads from Russia, and in one raid they are said to have carried off twenty thousand maidens as slaves, besides married women and children.

The Crown of Poland was during this period sometimes united with that of neighbouring countries through family alliances. Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, was also King of Poland, not long before the independence of the former country was finally swallowed up in the German Empire. In the struggle for existence the more active and enterprising German perpetually pushed the Slave eastward, and the provinces of Poland, on the shores of the Baltic, became, to a great extent, peopled by German colonists. All the trade and commerce of Poland was in the hands of Germans, Jews, and Armenians.

The order of Teutonic knights having given up the defence of the Holy Land as hopeless against the repeated attacks of the Turks and Mamlúks, had returned to Europe to inaugurate a fresh crusade against the heathens of Prussia and Lithuania.

During their Holy Wars there were continual quarrels between the knights and the Poles on the score of territorial jurisdiction, and the swords of the crusaders freely shed Christian as well as heathen blood: but at length the feud was appeased by the Grand Master of the order, Count Albert of Brandenburg, doing homage to the King of Poland for the Duchy of East Prussia. The German county of Brandenburg has now become one of the great Powers of Europe, while the kingdom of Poland has been dismembered to swell the pomp of its ancient vassal

The Crowns of Poland and Hungary were united under Louis, nephew and successor of Casimir the Great; and, he dying without male issue, his daughter, Jadwiga, or Hedwig, succeeded provisionally to the throne. Her hand was sought by many suitors for the dignity and power which it held; but she conferred it on Jagiello, the heathen Duke of Lithuania, on condition of his accepting Christianity. He ascended the Polish throne under the style of Ladislaus the second, and henceforth Poland and Lithuania became one kingdom; a political union analogous to that of England and Scotland two centuries later. He founded the dynasty of the Jagellons, which endured through the reigns of seven monarchs, for a space of two hundred years: an eventful time which saw the rise of the Reformation in Europe; and the establishment of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula. The second monarch of the line, Ladislaus the third, again united the crowns of Hungary and Poland, and led a crusade against the Ottoman intruders into Europe: his first campaign against the infidels was successful, and he drove them beyond the Balkans; but in a second, he lost his army and his life on the field of Varna. The reformed doctrines of the Hussites in Bohemia, and of the Lutherans in Germany, were introduced into Poland under this dynasty, and found considerable acceptance; especially among the German burghers of Thorn and Dantzic. There were already elements of religious discord in the nation, owing to the prevalence of the Greek or orthodox confession among the Ruthenians in Galicia; and at different times vigorous efforts were made by the Romish clergy to reclaim these schismatics. One of these efforts was so far successful as to bring over a number of the orthodox to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope on condition that they should be permitted by Rome to retain the use of their Slavonic liturgy: and these hybrid Papists went by the name of Uniates. They were at one time to be found in great numbers in the kingdom of Poland; but since its destruction, they have most of them returned to the bosom of the Greek Church.

All the Dissenters from the National Catholic Church in Poland went by the name of "Dissidents;" and their struggles for recognition and toleration make up much of the later political history of the kingdom, and were a leading cause of the troubles which brought about its dismemberment.

But at first the Poles agreed to differ, and to adjust their religious rivalries equitably and amicably. Under Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the House of Jagellon, all the Dissidents were granted full toleration, and the free exercise of their respective religions. It was in this reign also that the "Pacta Conventa," the Magna Charta of the Polish nobles

lity, was framed, confirming and securing all their privileges against possible infringement by the Crown. Every monarch was hereafter obliged to subscribe to these *Pacta Conventa*, and the elective king ever after remained a puppet in the hands of the national aristocracy.

Contrary to the course of events in other European nations, the nobility in Poland contrived to keep the reins of power in their own hands, and to exclude the king on one side, and the mass of the people on the other, from acquiring or exercising any political power.

The nation was governed by a Parliament called the Diet, which was composed of an Upper and a Lower House. The former was called the Senate: its members were Senators *ex officio*, and were of two classes, spiritual and temporal.

The first were Archbishops and Bishops; they took precedence of Senators temporal, and the Primate of the kingdom was always President of the Senate. The temporal Senators were the Palatines, Castellans, and the Ministers of State. The former were the governors of Palatinates, or Provinces, like the English Lord Lieutenants of counties: the Castellans were the governors of the fortified towns and castles of the kingdom: the Ministers of State were fourteen, seven for Poland, and seven for Lithuania, namely, for each kingdom a Grand Marshal, a High Chancellor, a Vice-Chancellor, a General in Chief, a Lieutenant-General, a High Treasurer, and a Sub-Treasurer. These were all appointed by the Crown. The Lower House was filled by elected representatives. The nobles of each Palatinate met in a local Diet, and elected some of their number to represent them at the general Diet: these representatives were called *Nuntios*. Their only necessary qualification was that they must be over twenty-three years of age.

The Diet assembled annually at a place of meeting fixed by the King, and its sittings lasted only six weeks. The Houses at first sat separately to observe certain formalities: the Lower House elected a Speaker. Two days afterwards both houses assembled in the Senate House to open the session. The assembly was in the fashion of an oriental Durbar. The king on his throne was in the centre of one end of the hall; the princes of the blood, and chief officers of state on his right and left; the senators, sitting according to precedence, occupied arm chairs along each side of the room. Behind their chairs were rows of benches raised in tiers, and covered with scarlet cloth, on which the *nuntios* sat. The senators might remain covered in the presence of the king; like the French *noblesse* in the States-General: but the *nuntios* were not allowed this privilege.

The proceedings of the Diet were opened by the *Pacta Con-*

venta being read aloud. Any member might rise to complain of any infringement of them that might have occurred since the last assembly of the Diet.

The Lord High Chancellor then read the speech from the throne. The king then nominated three Senators, and the speaker nominated six *Nuntios* to prepare and bring in the measures to be passed in that Session. Afterwards a committee of both Houses was elected to examine and pass the treasury accounts for the year ; and sixteen Senators were elected as members of the permanent Council.

This Council remained in attendance on the king when the Diet was not sitting, and he was bound to consult it in all State affairs.

The Houses then separated to debate the necessary measures, and re-assembled at the end of six weeks' time to confirm them. The Diet was then dismissed by the king.

An extraordinary Diet might be convened by the king at any time to consider an affair of urgency ; but it could sit only for a fortnight.

The Lower House possessed an extraordinary privilege in the " *Liberum Veto* ;" by which a single *nuntio*, by entering a protest, and refusing to take any further part in the debates, could annul the proceedings and put a stop to further business.

This senseless rule stultified Parliamentary Government in Poland and proved an effectual bar to progress. During the last hundred years of the existence of the Polish kingdom, no less than forty-eight of the annual Diets had to be dissolved owing to the exercise of this absurd privilege. The Polish legislators, however, clung to its maintenance with the same tenacity with which they always upheld the rights of their order, however unjust or unreasonable.

The mass of the people were serfs, cultivating the estates of the nobility, to whom the whole of the land belonged, with the exception of Crown and Church property. The laws were made and administered by the nobility, who alone had the right to carry arms. A nobleman, killing a peasant, was only liable to a paltry fine in expiation of the offence. The nobles were also exempted from all taxation, whereby the national treasury remained always extremely poor. The German burghers in the towns were allowed to govern themselves by their own laws—the "*Jus Magdeburgicum et Tentonicum*—," just as the Europeans, resident in Turkey and Egypt to-day, are allowed to be governed by the laws of their own countries under the "*Capitulations*."

All the shop-keeping and trading in the country was carried on by these Germans and by Jews. There was no Polish middle-class, but the majority of the nobles were by no means

wealthy, and many of them were miserably poor. At the time of the destruction of Poland a hundred years ago, it was computed that the number of the noble or equestrian class amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand. Every attempt at a reform of the constitution, or an amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, was opposed by this class tooth and nail, as likely to diminish its own privileges and importance. Any sketch of the royal prerogative, and sometimes its legitimate exercise was met by an aristocratic riot, which came to be known by the generic name of "Rokosz," a word which bears a curious resemblance to the English modern slang term "Rux," signifying much the same sort of thing.

In their dress and arms the Poles displayed more of the characteristics of an Asiatic than of a European nation. They partially shaved their heads and wore their mustachios long like the Turks; their inner robe was girded about their waist with a sash, and their outer garment lined and trimmed with costly furs, was long and loose as an oriental Kaftan. They carried the curved sabre of the East instead of the rapier or broadsword of the West, but their favourite arm was the lance, which they adopted as the most effective weapon wherewith to foil the attacks of the scimitar-wielding Tartar and Turkish cavalry. The Polish national armies were composed almost entirely of horse: the nobles, armed with lances, fought in the front rank; their henchmen, armed with carbines, formed a rear rank to their masters. Like the Turks, they spent much of their wealth on the caparison of their horses, and the adornment of their weapons. Their infantry was of poor quality: and an efficient standing army, able to meet the Swedish and German troops on anything like equal terms, was never established in Poland.

For the election of a new king an extraordinary Diet was assembled, which met on a plain near the capital, where temporary barracks were erected and an immense camp was pitched for its accommodation. The nobles came attended by a large following, and there were often serious riots and disorders. No candidate was allowed to be present in person; they had to bribe or intrigue through their agents. In the final voting the nobles all paraded on horseback, and the Primate went round and collected their votes.

The event was generally a foregone conclusion, and as long as there was an heir apparent to the throne in the person of a Piast or a Jagellon, there was seldom a contested election; but after the extinction of the latter dynasty, an election generally found two or more candidates competing for the vacant crown, and the competition was seldom concluded without a civil or foreign war.

France was always coquetting with Poland, as she now makes love to Russia, seeing in the Slavonic kingdom a possible and valuable ally against the formidable power of Imperial Germany. The general use of the Latin language by the Poles also led them to prefer the French to their German neighbours. Their adoption of Latin as a living language was due to the entire difference of the Slavonic tongue from the Latin and Teutonic languages of the rest of Europe. After the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Poles had much ado to find a new king; but at last their choice fell on Henry of Valois, brother of Charles the Ninth, king of France, the perpetrator of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Papal and Catholic reaction was in full swing in Europe, and all the influence of the Romish Church was exerted in favour of the brother of the most Christian king. A more weak and worthless man could not well have been found; but the Poles were infatuated in favour of French alliance. But Henry of Valois was not happy in Poland; and at last he fairly ran away from his loving subjects, escaping from Cracow by stealth. They pursued him hotly, but could not overtake him before he had crossed the frontier into Germany. He appeased them by promising to come back again; but, after waiting in vain for him for more than a year, they reluctantly gave him up, and proceeded to elect a new monarch. This time their choice fell on a Protestant, Stephen Batory, Prince of Transylvania. He had to renounce his creed in order to accept the proffered throne, but like Henry the Fourth of France in similar circumstances, he thought a crown well worth a Mass. He proved a brave and politic prince, and gave the Poles no reason to regret their choice. He was the first to give the roving Cossacks of the Ukraine and the island of the Dniester a military organisation; and he formed six regiments from these Cossack colonies of pirates and moss-troopers in the bloody debateable ground lying between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam. Their ranks were continually recruited by Polish and Russian runaway serfs and fugitives from justice, and by Christian captives escaping from the Tartars and Turks. When assailed by the latter they placed themselves under the protection of Poland, as the nearest Christian Power, strong enough to protect them. Now King Stephen Batory organised regiments of them, each one thousand strong, to guard the frontier against the raids of the slave-hunting Tartars of the Crimea.

He did a more questionable service to his adopted country in establishing a Jesuit University at Wilna. The Society soon made its influence felt in Poland, and applied itself busily to attacking the position and the privileges of the Dissidents. In the succeeding reign of Sigismund Vasa, the

embers of religious strife were re-kindled anew. The Princess Katharine, sister of Sigismund Augustus, had married John Vasa, King of Sweden, and had succeeded in converting him from the Lutheran to the Catholic faith; and he strove in vain to persuade his Swedish subjects to follow his example.

On the death of Stephen Batory, Prince Sigismund Vasa, the son of John and Katharine, was elected to the Polish throne. The new king threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Catholic re-action. After his father's death, he succeeded to the throne of Sweden, but was expelled by the Swedes, on an attempt to re-establish Catholicism in that country. In his time Poland stood forth as the champion of Rome in Eastern Europe: and his long reign of five and forty years was occupied by wars against Protestant Swedes, orthodox Russians, and infidel Turks. In the Swedish war, Poland was overcome by the arms of the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus, but she indemnified herself at the expense of Russia, who was in that evil period of her history known to the Muscovite chroniclers as the "time of the troubles," which took place between the failure of the ancient line of the grand Dukes of Moscow, and the accession of the House of Romanoff.

The Russian pretender, called the false Demetrius, was supported by the Polish arms; he married a Polish bride and confessed the Catholic faith.

After he had been murdered, King Sigismund tried to make his own son, Ladislaus, sovereign of Russia. His Jesuit advisers were obstinately bent on forcing their own creed on the reluctant Russians, and the oppression and spoliation committed by the Poles during their supremacy in Muscovy, was long and bitterly remembered by the Russians, and afterwards repaid with interest.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, the Polish Catholics began illegally persecuting the Dissidents, and the religious strife was commenced which, for the remaining two centuries of Polish history, turned the country into a battlefield between Catholics, Greeks and Protestants, and was the principal cause of its ruin.

In the reign of Sigismund Vasa, occurred the first Turkish invasion of Poland on a grand scale. As early as the year 1493. the Turks had made a cavalry raid into Poland through Moldavia; but, delaying over their plunder, they were overtaken by an unusually early and severe winter, and many of the invaders perished of cold and hardship. They did not repeat their visit till 1621, when their young Sultan Othman the Second, led a great army to attempt the conquest of Poland. The causes of the war were the depredations of the Tartars

of the Crimea on the Polish frontiers on the one hand, and of the Zaporavian Cossacks on the Turkish coasts of the Black Sea on the other. When the Sultan complained of these latter to the Polish king, he received the same answer which he had given to Polish remonstrances on the score of the Tartars. Such insolence on the part of the 'Fuzulgiaur,' (boasting infidel) as the Turks called the Poles, could not go unpunished; and Sultan Othman mustered his grand army, and crossed the Danube, while his fleet, carrying a large siege train and all kinds of warlike munitions, sailed from Constantinople for the mouth of the Dniester. While the army was delayed by the crossing of the Danube at Ishakchi, some hundred Cossack prisoners, taken by the fleet in the Black Sea, were brought to the Imperial camp. Some of these were distinguished by being made a target for the Sultan's own skill with the bow; the rest were given over for the soldiery to slaughter for their amusement, as was the Turkish custom. But even Turkish feeling was outraged when the Sultan, having expended the supply of Cossacks, and being unwilling to cease his pastime, set up some of his own pages as targets for his arrows. The Polish army assembled to repel the invasion, under the Crown General Chmelnicki, mustered about fifty thousand men: and it was aided by a contingent of eight thousand Germans sent by the Emperor, whose discipline and armament were much superior to that of either Poles or Turks. The Turkish army is reported by Christian chroniclers to have numbered three hundred thousand men: it was more likely half that number. The Poles formed several entrenched camps on the Dniester near Chotin, and awaited the attack of the enemy. The Sultan formed the siege of Chotin, and made many assaults on the Polish entrenchments, which were invariably repulsed: and the Poles in their turn made many sorties, sometimes with success.

After a month's hard fighting without any definite result and with very heavy loss to the Turks, the Sultan was fain to conclude peace, on the condition that the raids of the Cossacks and Tartars should mutually cease, and he led back his shattered army to Constantinople. He attributed the failure of the campaign to the misconduct of the Janissaries, and accused them of having traded their rations to the besieged Poles in return for wine; and the vain, rash youth provoked the enmity of the soldiery till they mutinied and murdered him; the first, though not the last of the House of Othman, who fell a victim to the fury of his own subjects.

There were great rejoicings throughout Christendom at this repulse of the Turks, which was magnified in common report into a great victory gained by the Poles over the enemy

of Christendom. It was celebrated in verse by many poets in different countries, in England, among others, by an heroic poem on "the Great Victory gained by the Poles over the Turkish Emperor Osman, in the Dacian Battle."

Fifty more years passed before the Turks again troubled Poland: and it was again the Cossacks who were the cause of the trouble, though for a different reason this time.

Sigismund Vasa's policy had been successively pursued by his two sons, King Ladislaus and King John Casimir, aided and abetted by the Jesuits and the Catholic nobles. John Casimir was weak in character, but strong in faith; when young he had made the grand tour in Europe, had served in the Catholic army in the Thirty Years War, and had taken Holy Orders as a Jesuit priest. Under him the rights and privileges, hitherto enjoyed by the religious Dissidents in Poland, were gradually curtailed. As a beginning, the Lutherans and Greeks were persuaded to join in excluding the Unitarians from these rights and privileges; and as soon as a law to this effect had been passed in the Diet, it was alleged as a precedent by the Catholic party for limiting the privileges of the Greeks and Protestants. A request of the Cossacks for representation in the Diet was contemptuously refused: and the Burgesses of the cities, who had been formerly represented in the Diets, were also excluded to the detriment of the Lutheran element, which was mainly represented by the German inhabitants of the cities.

The Cossacks warmly resented the persecution of which their Greek Church was the object. Under their Hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitski, they revolted from the king of Poland and transferred their allegiance to Sultan Muhammad the Fourth of Turkey, soliciting his assistance against their late masters. The Crim Tartars, against whom the Cossacks had hitherto guarded the frontiers of Poland, now joined with them to carry fire and sword through the Catholic kingdom. The Russians espoused the cause of their co-religionists and recovered Kiev and Smolensko from the Poles. Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, overran the whole country, and captured Warsaw. During the whole time of John Casimir's reign, Poland was battling on all sides against fearful odds. Peace was purchased from Sweden and Russia by the cession of much territory, and the Tartars and Cossacks were defeated by the genius and conduct of the Polish General John Sobieski.

This remarkable man, the Polish national hero, was the son of a Castellan of Cracow, who had distinguished himself at Chotin against the Turks. John Sobieski had travelled much in his youth: he had visited England, and had held

the post of Captain of Horse in the French service, where he studied the art of war. He had been sent as a hostage to the Khan of the Tartars, had negotiated a treaty with that potentate, and had actually led a Tartar army to the assistance of John Casimir against the Swedes. He possessed the heart and hand of a mediæval knight-errant, with the eye and brain of a modern general.

He was Crown General of Poland at the time of the abdication of John Casimir, when an utterly insignificant nobleman named Michael Korybut was elected to the vacant throne. The only claim of the new candidate was some shadowy descent from the ancient dynasty : his election was probably brought about by the influence of rivals jealous of the fame of Sobieski. The triumphs of the latter over the rebellious Cossacks had led to their appealing for assistance to their new Suzerain : and the Porte haughtily desired Poland to leave its new vassals alone. The fortunes of the Turkish Empire were at this time directed by the able Vazir Ahmad Fázil Kúprili, who had already conquered and annexed the provinces of Neuhausel and Varasdin in Hungary from Austria, and the island of Crete from Venice ;—he dreamed of nothing less than the complete conquest of Europe and the subjugation of the world to the faith of Islam. He was wont to lecture the European courts in much the same style as is now employed by these latter in teaching his duty to the Sultan at the present day. He chid the king of Poland for his tyranny to the Cossacks, and gravely discoursed of the rights of subject peoples, without an idea of the irony of the situation. No satisfactory reply was given, or at least the absence of one proved satisfactory to Ahmad Kúprili, who burned to add more of the land of the infidels to the Dár-ul-Islám. He marched to the Dniester with a hundred and fifty thousand men : and one hundred thousand Tartars under the command of their Khan, Salím Girái, famous in war and verse, invaded Poland from the east.

They divided into three hordes for the purpose of plunder, and thus Sobieski was able to beat them in detail ; but, while he was routing them, the Turkish army crossed the Dniester at Chotin, and, after a siege of ten days, mastered the strong fortress of Kaminiek and overran all Podolia. King Michael hastened to make an ignominious peace ; ceding all their conquests to the Turks in perpetuity, renouncing all authority over the Cossacks, and engaging to pay homage and tribute to the Sultan henceforth.

The Turkish army withdrew across the Danube, and the war was supposed to be ended ; but the Polish Diet, instigated by Sobieski, refused to ratify the treaty, and the Polish

army again occupied Podolia. This brought back the Turkish host next year (1673): but Sobieski boldly advanced to Chotin, and, falling upon the Turks with an inferior force, totally routed them, inflicting on them the severest defeat which they had ever sustained up to that time from Christian arms. All their standards, gems, stores and baggage were prize to the victors: and the Sultan himself, who was some days' march in rear of the army, was involved in the panic flight. The slaughter of the infidels was enormous, and the stream of the Dniester was choked with turbans.

King Michael fortunately dying about this time, Sobieski was chosen his successor by unanimous acclamation. Next year another large Turkish army entered Podolia under the Saraskier Shishman, Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Fat): but he was careful not to risk a battle, and Sobieski's army was too numerically inferior to assail the Turks in their entrenchments. The war lasted without any considerable advantage to either side, till 1676, when the new Saraskier Shaitan Ibrahim Pasha (Ibrahim the Devil) attacked Sobieski in his entrenched camp at Zurawna. A desultory series of engagements followed for seventeen days, when, both sides being utterly exhausted, Saraskier made proposals of peace on the former basis, only omitting the articles requiring Poland to pay homage and tribute to the Porte; and Sobieski was fain to agree to these terms, the resources of his kingdom being utterly exhausted by the long series of wars.

The city of Kaminiek, with forty-eight towns and villages in its vicinity, were the last conquests made by the once conquering Osmanli Turks from any European power.

Seven years later they were at the gates of Vienna; and it was Sobieski and the Poles who came to the rescue of the capital of Germany. All his former triumphs and trophies were eclipsed by the glories and spoils of that famous day, ever memorable as the crowning seal of the deliverance of Christendom from the nightmare fear of Moslem conquest that had oppressed her dreams for ages.

"Think with what passionate delight
The tale was told in Christian halls,
How Sobieski turned to flight
The Moslem from Vienna's walls.
How when his horse triumphant trode
The burgher's richest robes upon;
The ancient words rose loud, "From God
A man was sent, whose name was John!"

Mr. Morfill has given *in extenso* the king's interesting letters to his well-loved and unworthy wife, detailing the battle and the plunder of the Turkish camp. Before he parted from his German allies, he again signally defeated the Turks at Burkan on the Danube.

But this was his last notable success against them : during the fourteen year's war, which lasted till his death in 1697, he was never able even to re-take Kaminiek, much less to make any conquests at the expense of the Turks, while Poland was continually harried by the raids of the Tartars.

At the general peace signed at Carlowitz in 1799, the Turks, who had been thoroughly beaten by Prince Eugene in Hungary, gave up Kaminiek and Podolia to the Poles, and they were never again able to undertake any enterprise against Poland. Chotin remained the Musalman border fortress to the north for many years longer, till the Turks were finally expelled from it by the Russian arms under Catherine the Great.

The want of a standing army had prevented Sobieski from reaping more benefits from his successes over the Turks, and the same want now placed Poland at the mercy of a neighbouring prince, Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who presented himself as a candidate for the throne, backed up by eight thousand excellent Saxon soldiers. He was duly elected ; but afterwards, joining the league against Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, he was defeated and deposed by that youthful conqueror, who nominated Stanislaus Leczynski, the Palatine of Posen in his room, and he was duly elected by the Diet, the Swedish soldiery just then standing in the place of the Saxons.

After Charles' defeat at Pultowa, Augustus quietly resumed the Polish crown, Stanislaus escaping to France. On Augustus' death, he re-appeared in Poland, but the new Elector of Saxony, Augustus the Second, again recommending his candidature by Saxon bayonets, and being supported by Russia and Prussia, Stanislaus was again obliged to yield to the force of circumstances, and once more take refuge in France, where he died, universally honoured and regretted, for he was an able as well as an estimable man, and his romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes had excited general sympathy for his misfortunes.

During the greater part of the long reigns of the two Saxon sovereigns, Poland was at last free from foreign war : but the strife of jarring creeds continued to trouble her repose. The Jesuits had triumphed, but their triumph was short-lived. The toleration formerly extended to the Dissidents, was entirely withdrawn. The exercise of the *Liberum Veto* reduced the Diet to impotence and the country to anarchy.

Persecution was rife : under the reign of John Sobieski, a nobleman was put to death with torture for blasphemy. In 1724, occurred the affair of Thorn, which excited great indignation in Protestant Europe. A quarrel took place between the Jesuits and Lutherans in the city of Thorn, when Count

Lubomirski occupied the town with a body of horse, and arrested and executed a number of the leading Protestant citizens, on charges of having blasphemed against the Catholic faith. The discontent of the Dissidents went on increasing, the Lutherans looking to Prussia for help, the Greek Christians gravitating towards Russia.

After the death of Augustus the Second, Russian soldiers took the place of the Saxons in Poland. A Polish nobleman, named Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky, was elected king, no doubt through the influence of the Empress Catherine, of whom he had been a favoured lover, and was to prove a convenient puppet.

Through him she meant to extract from the Poles toleration and justice for the Dissidents in Poland. Catherine, like Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Joseph the Second of Austria, her partners in the partition of Poland, was a disciple of Voltaire : she did not care a straw for the Greek religion, but she did care very much for her Russian subjects, who were fanatically attached to that religion, and fanatically anxious to avenge its real and fancied wrongs upon the Catholics in Poland. Catharine really knew that freedom in thought and speech was good for the human race, and she desired that they should enjoy it, and used her best endeavours to that end ; for the French Revolution had not yet scared the monarchs of Europe back out of the new paths of Liberalism, and the newly discovered doctrine of the Brotherhood of Humanity.

It is recorded as matter of congratulation that there were only ten men killed in the riots that, as a matter of custom, accompanied the royal election of Stanislaus Augustus ; but a serious difficulty presented itself at his coronation. It was the ancient custom that the kings of Poland should be anointed with the sacred oil on the shaven crown : but Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowsky had a fine natural head of hair, and positively refused to sacrifice it. The momentous difficulty was surmounted by anointing him upon an artificial scalp which he wore like a wig over his real hair. He was a weak, vain, good-natured man, anxious enough to do right, tied to the apron strings of his Imperial mistress by every sentiment of gratitude and interest, and utterly unable to manage or sway the turbulent nobility who made it a point of honour to show their contempt for an authority which their votes had conferred.

The Empress Catherine used all her influence with the king to have the penal laws against the Dissidents repealed. He was quite willing, but he could do nothing without the Diet. In the session of 1766, a desperate effort was made to afford relief to the Dissidents, but owing to the strenuous

opposition of the clerical party, nothing could be accomplished. The anger of the Russians exploded : and Russian troops were marched into Poland, and entered Warsaw. A number of the Archbishops and Bishops, who had been most violent in opposing measures of toleration, were arrested by them and sent into Russia to be imprisoned or kept out of the way.

After this broad hint, the Diet passed a law in 1768, giving relief to the Dissidents, not without strong opposition.

The patriotic pride of the Poles was deeply hurt by the Russian military occupation of their beloved country, and by the fact that this measure had been forced upon them by foreign dictation ; and resistance to it seemed to be equally due to the cause of patriotism and of religion : a number of the nobles banded themselves together to reject religious liberty and to resist foreign intervention, two things which they regarded as synonymous.

The confederates met at Bar in Podolia, where they passed resolutions affirming the supremacy of the Catholic religion in Poland, and hoisted standards emblazoned with the cross and the picture of the Virgin Mary. They proclaimed, and even actually commenced a Holy War against all heretics ; but directly the Russian troops moved against them, these champions of the Cross appealed for aid to the Musalman Turks.

The Turks were jealous of the growing power of Russia, and France had always been a friend and ally of Poland, using her as a make-weight to balance the power of Germany, as she regards Russia to-day : so French diplomacy now set itself successfully to stir up the Sultan to espouse the cause of the confederates of Bar.

A huge Turkish army was despatched to expel the Russians from Poland ; "a mass incurably chaotic," as Carlyle calls it, "furiously intending towards Poland and extermination of the Giaur." But being beaten by the Russians at Chotin, the Turk army "burst into unanimous insanity, and flowed home in *deliquium* of ruin," leaving Chotin to be taken by the victors ; and the Russians henceforth carried the war into the Sultan's territories, at the same time that they crushed the popular rising in Poland.

The Polish Royal Guards, and the few other regular troops that were in the kingdom, followed the king in siding with the Russians. The nobles, with their retainers and with bands of armed peasants, could not face the Russian troops for a moment in the field, but betook themselves to guerilla warfare. The whole country was in a state of anarchy ; everyone taking arms to defend himself and to attack his neighbours. The nobles used to say jestingly—"Poland subsists by anarchy:" but it was by this anarchy that it was soon to perish.

In the religious war which now was kindled in every village in Poland, horrible cruelties were perpetrated on both sides, as in Ireland in the Rebellion of '98.

Some French officers and a few French soldiers arrived to aid the patriots, and did good service against the Russians. One of the most curious episodes in this civil war was the seizure of King Stanislaus, in his carriage, in the streets of Warsaw, by a band of the patriots who had entered the town in disguise. They wounded the king, and carried him off, but lost their way in the darkness of the night, and found themselves still in the neighbourhood of Warsaw in the morning. The king was concealed in a mill; but he persuaded Kosinski, one of his Captains who was left in charge of him, to give intelligence of his whereabouts to his guards, who came and rescued him. Kosinski was pardoned; most of his accomplices were taken and executed, and are still regarded by the Poles as heroes and martyrs.

When the Russian troops pressed the patriots hard, the latter used to take refuge in Austrian or Prussian territory, and these States stationed *cordons* of troops on their frontiers to prevent the war spreading into their own provinces. Frederick the Great said that Poland was like a house chronically smoking through the slates: it brought on a new European war every time it changed its king, and it required to be taken charge of by its neighbours. The western provinces of the kingdom were full of Germans, who, by their superior intelligence and thrift, had been gradually crowding out the Slave population, as they had already done in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. The Poles hated them as foreigners and heretics, and lost no opportunity of showing their hatred and venting their spite upon them. "*Vexa Lutheranum dabit thalerum*;" (Plague the Protestant, and he will pay up his dollars), was a common maxim of the Polish magnates in West Prussia. And Frederick the Great greatly coveted West Prussia.

To the insatiable old earth-swallower, who had already digested Austrian Silesia, the Polish province, wedged into the heart of his dominions, seemed only a mouthful, to be swallowed at a gulp. Austrian troops had already been marched on to Polish soil on the plea of pacifying the country. Frederick now proposed to the Empresses Catherine and Maria Theresa of Austria, the first partition of Poland; the former eagerly approved the plan; the latter agreed reluctantly, leaving it on record that she knew that what she was doing was wrong, but did it because it was expedient. Each of the contracting parties took the provinces most convenient for rounding their own dominions; the scrupulous Austrian getting the largest share. About one-third of Poland was alienated under this partition, which took place in the year 1772.

It was impossible for the Poles, without any regular army and with few fortified towns, to make any effectual resistance to the partition. Most of the patriot leaders fled the country ; some of them reached America and took service in the War of Independence which was then going on. Others, less fortunate, found a place in Russian and German dungeons.

The policy of the Cardinal-King, John Casimir and his Jesuit friends, had arrived at its natural, though unforeseen and un hoped for result. The pit dug by them for their neighbours had engulfed their own followers. The dismemberment of their country rudely awoke the Polish aristocracy to the consequences of their folly : and they made strenuous efforts to repair their errors, but it was already too late. As in the French monarchy at the same period, the necessary reforms were undertaken too late to stay the disease of the body politic, and only precipitated the crisis. The king and most of the nobles worked honestly and energetically to save the remnant of their nation ; laws were passed successively making only a simple majority in the Diet necessary for carrying a measure ; abolishing the *Liberum Veto* : making the succession to the throne hereditary in the German family of the Elector of Saxony ; curtailing the power of the nobility over their serfs, and establishing religious toleration.

All these and other reforms were embodied in a brand-new constitution, sworn to by the king and the majority of the nobles in 1791, and promulgated amid general enthusiasm. But a small band of the chief nobility protested against any abridgment of the old privileges of their order, and confederated at Targoureza to resist the new constitution by force of arms ; and they moreover appealed for aid to Russia, as the confederates of Bar had appealed to Turkey. By this time the despots of Europe had become thoroughly alarmed at the spread of the revolutionary spirit in France, and the new constitution of Poland was too liberal in its principles to be tolerated for a moment. The civil strife caused by the confederates of Targoureza was made the protest for again flooding Poland with Russian and Prussian troops : and the new invasion was met by a general rising of the Polish nation, under the guidance of Kosciuszko. A desperate war followed : for a time the patriots held their own, and they forced the Prussian king to raise the siege of Warsaw ; but the discipline and numbers of their adversaries soon prevailed. The terrible Field Marshal Suwarrow led a great Russian army into Poland ; and in the decisive battle of Macziewice, the patriots were totally routed, and Kosciuszko wounded and made prisoner. He afterwards denied having used the words *Finis Poloniæ*, which were attributed to him on his fall by common

rumour, but he might have used them with truth, for the last hope of Poland fell with him.

“Hope for a season bade the world farewell ;
And Freedom shrieked, as Kosciuszko fell !”

The second partition of Poland took place in 1792, between Russia and Prussia only ; and the little that remained of the country was finally divided in 1795, Austria again receiving a share in this third and final partition. Warsaw fell to the share of Prussia. The unfortunate king became a Russian pensioner, and died a few years later at St. Petersburg. Kosciuszko was released by the Russians, and died in voluntary exile in France.

Great numbers of the Polish patriots fled their country after the final partition, and most of them also took refuge in France. Napoleon formed, from them, a corps called the Legion of the Vistula, divided into many regiments of cavalry and infantry, which eventually rose to the number of more than forty thousand men. All the soldiers wore the square topped Polish cap, and the cavalry were all Uhlans (Polish for Lancers). The use of the lance had been discontinued by the cavalry of Western Europe since the introduction of fire-arms, until it was now again introduced by the Poles, whose national weapon it had always been ; and the Lancer regiments of all European armies still wear the Polish cap, in memory of their origin.

The Polish Red Lancers of Napoleon's Grand Army became famous for their courage and ferocity, and it was soon discovered that the Poles made excellent soldiers ; indeed, some military writers have declared them to be the most naturally warlike race in Europe.

Napoleon made use of the Poles while he excited their hopes of the restoration of their kingdom ; and after his triumph over the Prussians at Jena, he separated part of Poland from Prussia and formed it into a Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which he annexed for administrative purposes to Saxony. But he never went further than this ; and the greatest part of his brave Polish soldiery perished in the disastrous retreat from Moscow. Their commander, Marshal Pima Poniatowski, “the last hope of the Poles,” was drowned while swimming his horse across the river Elster in the flight from Leipsic, after the three days' Battle of the Nations. The troopers whom Napoleon took with him, after his abdication, to be his escort in Elba, were all Polish lancers of his Guard ; and they shed their blood in vain for him for the last time on the field of Waterloo.

At the Congress of Vienna the great Powers of Europe very nearly came to blows over the remains of Poland : but finally Russia got the lion's share. England and France, who wished

for the restoration of Poland, unconsciously played into the hands of Russia, by stipulating for the re-establishment of the Polish kingdom, with its own separate government, laws and army, but under the Russian Crown, as the kingdom of Hungary was under the Emperor of Austria : and this arrangement was finally come to, Prussia and Austria having to be content with what they got at the first partition. The city of Cracow was made an independent Republic, under the protection and safeguard of the three assassins of Polish nationality.

These arrangements worked exactly as might have been expected. The Czar Nicholas ignored the Polish constitution, and goaded the Poles into a rebellion, which was crushed with merciless severity. It was on this occasion that the Russian Field Marshal Paskiewitch, after the horrors of an assault and sack which rivalled the storming of the Polish capital by Suwarrow, penned his laconic despatch to his Imperial Master ; " Order reigns in Warsaw : " a modern and Muscovite version of—

" Solitudinem faciunt, Pacem appellant."

" They make a Solitude, and call it Peace."

Russia thus secured by far the largest share of the old kingdom of Poland, which was turned into a province of the Czar's Empire and paternally governed, like the rest of it, by the knout and the rod.

In 1846 a general conspiracy was discovered for an uprising in Poland, which had its head quarters in the free city of Cracow, and this served as a pretext for the extinction of the last remnant of Polish nationality, and the incorporation of the ancient capital with the Austrian dominions. It is worthy of note that, in the abortive insurrection which flamed up on this occasion, the Polish peasantry sided with the Austrian government against their noble countrymen.

During the Crimean War, in spite of the favourable opportunity then presented to them, the Poles remained perfectly quiescent, crushed under the iron weight of Nicholas' despotism : but under the milder rule of his son and successor Alexander, the expiring embers of Polish nationality flamed up for the last time. The removal of repression led to manifestations of the patriotic spirit, which in turn brought on renewed repression, and this caused revolt. The patriots took to a guerilla warfare in 1863, but the movement was quelled with Russian severity, and ever since, the policy has been pursued, of ruthlessly stamping out every vestige of national spirit and feeling in Russian Poland. Prussian Poland has been for the most part Germanised : and we have lately seen the few Polish members in the Reichsrath unanimously supporting

the new German Army Bill. In that discordant congeries of peoples and races which goes to make up the Austrian Empire, the Ruthenians, or Red Russians of Galicia, are well-affected to their German masters, whom they regard as their deliverers from the tyranny of the Polish nobility : just as the Musalman population of the Punjab regard the English as their deliverers from the Sikhs : but in the case of a war between the two Empires, the sympathies of the Ruthenians, as well as those of the southern Slaves, would naturally be on the side of the Russians ; and this might prove a considerable source of danger to the dual Monarchy.

Mr. Morfill's History of Poland may be read as an epitaph. Polish and Lithuanian nationality is being gradually absorbed into that of Slavonic Russia, and in the revolutionary dens of Paris and London, the Nihilist and the Anarchist have taken the place of the once familiar figure of the noble and needy Polish patriot. Poland's old enemy, Turkey, has taken her place as the sick member of the European body politic, and the eagles are gathered round her moribund form in expectant conclave. Already the Sultan's dominions have undergone their first partition at the Congress of Berlin.

F. H. TYRRELL, *Major-General.*

ART. VIII—THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF INDIA.*

WE shall first try to indicate broadly the position which Dr. Oppert's work holds in the history of Orientalism; then give some account of the conclusions he has reached, and the method he has followed; and, lastly, point to certain limitations in this method, which will probably make it necessary to modify Dr. Oppert's conclusions in two main directions.

First, as to the position of Dr. Oppert's work. As far as the history of Orientalism and the study of Indian peoples are concerned, we may divide the work of Dr. Oppert's predecessors into two great periods—the work of the Calcutta School, and the work of the Indo-Germanic School.

Beginning with the foundation of the Asiatic Society by Sir William Jones and his colleagues, in 1784, the Calcutta School carried on its work for a generation; and gathered together a mass of material in every region of Indian research, including much purely ethnographical material—material, that is, relating to the history, and social and religious life of the Indian peoples. The largest and most important separate work in this field, is Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*; and Colonel Tod's work illustrates admirably the most valuable characteristic of the Calcutta School—a deep sympathy with the Indian peoples, and a real and close knowledge of them; a knowledge drawn from daily intercourse, and an intimacy which has never since been equalled.

Wherever the writers of the Calcutta School confine themselves to recording their personal observations, whether of peoples or of philosophers, their evidence is of the highest value, and is superior to any work that has been done by their successors. But the Calcutta School laboured under two very serious disabilities; disabilities, which both sprang from the same cause. They had inherited a series of traditions as to the age and origin of man and the world, which have, since their day, been entirely discarded. They believed that the utmost age of the human race, and even of the universe, was something less than six thousand years; and they believed that, some four thousand years ago, the whole human race was renewed from a single family; in other words, they believed that the human race was ethnically uniform about four thousand years ago; and that all divergence of race, must have its origin about

* On the original inhabitants of Bharata-varsa or India: Gustav Oppert, Ph. D., London, 1893.

that date. We need not recapitulate the evidence which now leads us to believe that the human race must have an antiquity of hundreds of thousands, and most probably millions of years; instead of the six thousand years believed in by the Calcutta School. We need only say that all the evidence points to an even further extension of our already enormous estimate of main antiquity; the largest limit hitherto assigned to the human race, is, probably, that of M. de Quatrefages, the famous French ethnologist, who conjectures that the origin of man must be sought in the Secondary Age of Geology; and this would give to man more millions of years than one would care to mention.

The second disability of the Calcutta School is the fact that they had no clear perception of ethnical science. And here it may not be out of place to illustrate what we mean by ethnical science—the science of race—as distinguished from ethnography, which is chiefly concerned with the social and religious life of various races. It is a fact of common observation that the human race is not uniform; that all peoples in all countries do not belong to a single physical type. This simple fact is the basis of ethnical science, which seeks to give an account of the various physical types, their characteristic differences, and their relations to each other. The work of classification is still far from complete. It is met by a difficulty which is common to every region of natural classification; this difficulty springs from the fact that nature never produces two individuals exactly the same in all particulars; and that, therefore, any general description will not exactly fit all the members of any group, however closely allied they may be.

But there are certain striking characteristics which are possessed, with slight variations, by large groups, families, and races of men; and ethnical science seeks to describe these striking characteristics, and to make them the basis of a general classification of the whole human race.

One of the most striking characteristics which divides the human race into a few great groups, is colour; for instance, broadly speaking, the peoples of Europe are white; the peoples of China are yellow; the peoples of equatorial Africa are black; and the natives of South America are red. Then, within these great divisions, we find lesser distinctions of colour. In Europe, the northern division of the white race, which centers round Scandinavia, is distinguished by red or reddish hair and blue eyes; the white race of Central Europe is distinguished by yellow or yellow-brown hair and grey eyes; the white race of Southern Europe is distinguished by black hair and black eyes. And this subdivision seems to strike,

in a minor key, the chord of the larger subdivision into white, red, yellow, and black races; as though each great race had a series of sub-races, which repeated, in a less marked form, the shades of difference between the great races.

So much for colour. Another very marked distinction between the races is the form of the skull; the most easily distinguished characteristic of which is the relation of the breadth of the skull to its length. So that there are races with very long skulls—dolicho-cephalous races; races with very short skulls—brachy-cephalous races, and races with skulls of a medium form—ortho-cephalous. And there seems to be a connexion, not quite clear and completely grasped as yet, between the form of skull and the colour of the race. For the black races have, generally speaking, very long skulls; the yellow races have short or round skulls; and the white races generally stand somewhere between these extremes. As far as we know, the red races have also longish skulls; though probably not so long as the extreme black type. Now the value of these characteristics, as signs of race-difference and race-relation, depends on their permanence. What evidence have we of the permanence of skull-form and colour? The evidence for the permanence of skull-form is very great and is constantly being added to. We may illustrate it by a simple example. We often find that the form of the skulls of people inhabiting any locality is exactly the same as the form of the skulls in the oldest grave-yards and burial mounds; and in many cases, where very old skulls have been found, in limestone-caves, and gravel-beds, they have exactly the same character as the skulls of the present inhabitants of the same locality. This identity has been proved in the case of skulls which must be hundreds of thousands of years old; judging from their position in certain geological formations. So that everything tends to shew that when a race remains isolated, the form of the skull remains the same over extremely long periods.

As to colour, our evidence is not so complete. And yet we have two very convincing classes of evidence. The evidence of ancient pictures, and the evidence of ancient writers. In Egypt there are pictures several thousand years old, in which the different colours of various races were very carefully represented. And wherever we can certainly identify the races, as in the case of the Negroes, we find that, after a lapse of several thousand years, the colours are the same.

Then we have many descriptions of the colour of races in classical authors; and their close relation to the colour of the races inhabiting the same localities at the present day strengthens our belief in the permanence of race-colour during very long periods.

We have, therefore, two chief characteristics to distinguish difference of race; the form of the skull, and the colour of the skin. We know both to be fairly permanent through periods of several thousand years. The skin-colour is the easiest to distinguish; the skull-form is the more reliable, because, as far as we know, climate can have no effect on the form of the skull, except during enormously long periods. And even the effect of climate on colour is generally exaggerated, and may be largely eliminated by careful observation. The chief effect of climate in colour is the gradual darkening of the complexion by sun-burn; but this darkening produces a different effect on different original colours. For example, if a white race, a red race, and a yellow race are exposed to a tropical climate for two or three thousand years, the complexions of all three will be much darker, owing to the influence of sunburn. But the white race will be white-brown; the red race will be red-brown; and the yellow race will be yellow-brown; in other words, they will be as easily distinguished as they were originally, and a curious fact is that very young children tend to revert to the original colour of their race. But the full meaning of this reversion, and much more that relates to skin colour, is still imperfectly understood, and must remain so till much more evidence is collected and classified.

We have spoken of isolated races. But races are not always isolated; what, then, becomes of our characteristic distinctions in the case of mixture of races? As far as skull form is concerned, our evidence is still imperfect. And, in the case of colour, it is probable that popular observation is very much in advance of strictly scientific classification. In countries where a group of widely-different races have met, and where a certain amount of race mixture has taken place, as in India and North America, it is a matter of common observation that the elements of admixture, and even their ratio can be easily and certainly distinguished. In America, there is no possible confusion between Mulattos, the offspring of admixture between a black and a white race; Mestizoes, between a white and a red race; Zambos or Cafusos, between a red and a black race. And the existence of words like Anadroon and Octoroon shows how easily and certainly even the degree of intermixture can be distinguished. The same thing applies to India. It is still a doubtful point how far these intermediate races are permanent; and how far they tend to die out, or to revert to one or other of the original types which they sprang from.

The completion and classification of these observations and others of a like character, is the object of ethnical science. And we trace one of the great defects of the Calcutta School

to the fact that they had hardly any idea of this science, as its development is still of quite recent date. The other defect of their work was their ignorance of the true antiquity of man. In other words, Sir William Jones, Colonel Tod and their colleagues did not know that the antiquity of man is enormous, probably extending over millions of years ; and they did not know that the physical character of races is practically permanent for thousands of years, after the influence of climate has been allowed for ; after acclimatisation is complete. We may illustrate both these defects from Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*. Colonel Tod saw no objection to correcting the chronology of the Rajputs by the light of Archbishop Ussher's views as to the antiquity of the world ; and he saw no objection to identifying the Rajputs with all kinds of races in Europe and Asia, though he had no evidence at all as to their real ethnical identity. The type of this form of mistake is the myth of the Scythians, with whom Colonel Tod tried to identify the Rajputs ; because he quite failed to realise that we know nothing whatever, in a strictly ethnical sense, as to who the Scythians are ; and, therefore, attempt to identify them with any other race is dangerous in the extreme.

In India, the Calcutta School had no successors. No second generation of equal ability carried on the work so splendidly begun. The mantle of Indian orientalism passed to Europe, to the brilliant group of scholars whom we may call the Indo-Germanic School. This German school was distinguished by admirable scholarship, and inexhaustible patience and industry. The analysis of Sanskrit Grammar, the classification of cognate languages, the editing of excellent texts, the construction of concordances and dictionaries, were carried on by the Indo-Germanic School, with indefatigable enthusiasm and conspicuous success. But it must be confessed that the Indo-Germanic School, being quite unacquainted with India, and with Indian peoples, was often led into conjectures and hypotheses which the earlier Calcutta School would never have been guilty of. We need only touch on one of these hypotheses.

After Bopp, accepting the brilliant suggestion of Sir William Jones, had worked out the relations between Sanskrit and the European tongues, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and the rest, the view was put forward that the evidently close relations between these tongues could only be accounted for by an original identity of race ; that the speakers of all these tongues had originally been the same people, inhabiting the same locality. Central Asia was pointed to as the most likely centre of dispersion, considering the present position of the speakers of these tongues ; and a concrete account of the original unity and subsequent divisions and migrations of the Proto-Aryan family was put forward, and

gradually attained the appearance of great scientific certainty. We were told that the ancestor of the Indian Aryans after seeing his brothers depart towards the setting sun, had descended from the Hindu-Kush to the plains of India ; and that the speakers of Aryan languages in India, the speakers of languages derived from the Sanskrit, were the descendants of this primitive ancestor. The clearest expression of this "Indo-Germanic" hypothesis was reached, when we were told that the task of governing India was rendered distinctly easier by the discovery that the same blood flowed in the veins of the English soldier and dark Bengali.

Here was a clear and definite statement, which fairly illustrated the whole work of the Indo-Germanic School, so far as the study of Indian peoples is concerned ; just as the myth of the Scythians illustrates the work of the Calcutta School. We should be extremely grateful to the formulator of this belief in the blood-kinship between the English soldier and the dark Bengali, because, once the result of the Indo-Germanic researches were formulated in such a clear and concrete shape, it became immediately evident that its conclusions were untenable, and that its methods, as far as the Indian peoples and their classification was concerned, were inadequate. This inadequacy arose, as we have seen, from the fact that the scholars of the Indo-Germanic School were in no case familiar with the Indian peoples ; for, had they even had a very slight familiarity with the Indian peoples, they would have known that, ethnically speaking, the race identity of the English soldier and the dark Bengali is as difficult to accept as the race identity between the Chinese and the Negro, or the European and the red races of America ; although, in North America, the white, yellow, red, and black-races for the most part speak the same Aryan language—English.

Let us say here, once for all, that, in pointing to distinctions of colour between various races, we have no intention at all of making a distinction between 'superior' and 'inferior' races, or of exalting one colour at the expense of another. For ethnology, there is no such thing as 'superior' or 'inferior' colour ; all colours are equal ; each colour is accompanied by qualities which are not present in the same degree in the case of any other ; and each is, therefore, in this particular, the most excellent.

To return to the work of the Indo-Germanic School:—as the myth of the Scythians shows us at once how weak is the ethnical and chronological sense in the Calcutta School, so the identification of the English and Bengali races by the Indo-Germanic School shows us that the method of that school is imperfect, and that no sound knowledge of the Indian peoples can be reached along these lines.

Here, then, we begin to appreciate the position of Dr. Oppert's work on the Original Inhabitants of India. Dr. Oppert is familiar with the critical methods of the Indo-Germanic School, and with their high ideal of criticism. And he is also familiar with the peoples of India, and the work of the best observers of the Indian peoples, from Colonel Tod to the writers of the present day. Dr. Oppert, therefore, unites the best qualities of the Calcutta and Indo-Germanic Schools ; and thus we have a right to expect that his work will be very valuable.

Before recording Dr. Oppert's conclusions, we may enquire, for a moment, whether he is free from the disabilities which marked the work of the two previous schools of orientalism : their deficient sense of ethnical science and of chronology. On the ninth page of his work, we find Dr. Oppert writing : " However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits." It is evident, from this sentence, that Dr. Oppert has not realised what a mass of evidence has been gathered together by ethnical research on this very question of physical structure and colour ; and, further, has not realised that, broadly speaking, this evidence tends to a directly opposite conclusion, tends to show that differences of physical structure and colour are permanent through extremely long periods.

Dr. Oppert tells us, in his preface, that the object of his work is to prove, from existing sources, so far as they are available, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, all belong to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which is also known as Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian.

This declaration confirms our opinion that, when Dr. Oppert speaks of races and identity, he is not using these terms in a strictly ethnical sense ; nor with a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence. For a clear realisation of strictly ethnical evidence shews us that this expression, the Finnish-Ugrian, or Turanian race, is not an ethnical expression at all ; and was never reached along the lines of purely ethnical evidence. The older of these two terms is Turanian ; and its history is somewhat as follows :—' Iran and Turan ' were the old Persian terms for the children of light and the children of darkness, the ' chosen people and the barbarians,' the Persians, that is, and their foreign foes.

After the philologists of the Indo-Germanic School had

elaborated the relations of the 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' languages, they came to perceive clearly that these two groups of languages stood out clear and sharp from among the other tongues of the world. Falling naturally into the old classification of the children of light, the chosen people, on the one side, and the children of darkness, the barbarians, on the other, they decided to group the remaining languages of the world, as far as they were then known, under the general name Turanian. This was always a purely negative term; when a language was called Turanian, it was simply meant that it was neither Aryan nor Semitic; and there is no doubt at all that languages as different from each other in every quality of substance and form as English is from Arabic, were grouped under the general term Turanian, merely as a temporary expedient pending a better and fuller understanding of the languages and their character.

It is, therefore, clear that, even where language is concerned, the word Turanian had merely a negative value; it showed what languages were not, rather than what they were. Applying the name Turanian to the peoples of India whom Dr. Oppert calls Gauda-Dravidians, we see that this simply amounts to saying they are neither Aryan nor Semitic; a conclusion of a certain negative value, it is true, if we have any clear idea of whom we mean by Aryan and Semitic races; but a conclusion which does not help us at all to say who the Gauda-Dravidians are.

Rather more serious objections may be raised against Dr. Oppert's calling the Gauda-Dravidians Finnish-Ugrian; just because the latter term has a slightly more certain and definite meaning than the term Turanian, which, as we have seen, has no definite meaning at all. We all have a fairly clear idea of whom we mean by the Finns, though the origin of the name is far from clear, as we have seen it asserted that it cannot be Finnish, because the initial letter represents a sound foreign to the Finns themselves. The name Ugrian is generally identified with Hungarian or Vengrian, two names applied to the Hungarians, and the name "Finnish-Ugrian race" implies that the Finns and their kindred are related to the Hungarians; an inference on which considerable doubt may be cast, by both linguistic and ethnical science.

If, following Dr. Oppert, we were to call the Gauda-Dravidians members of the "Finnish Ugrian" race, we should imply, first, that the kinship of the Finns and Ugrians had been established on clear ethnical evidence; secondly, that the unity of the races whom Dr. Oppert calls "Gauda-Dravidian" had also been established on clear ethnical evidence; and, thirdly, that the identity of ethnical character between the

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Finnish-Ugrian group on the one hand, and the Gauda-Dravidian group, on the other, had also been established on clear ethnical evidence.

None of these three propositions have been proved, or are at all near to being proved; and I must confess that, after examining members of the Finnish, Hungarian, and Gauda-Dravidian Indian races, from the stand point of ethnical science, it appears to me that they will rather be proved to belong to four quite distinct race types, than to a simple homogeneous race, as Dr. Oppert seems to believe. When Dr. Oppert writes that "the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans,"* we feel at once that he does not quite fully realise the value of ethnical evidence; because, when it is said that, at the present moment, we have not a particle of evidence as to who, ethnically, the Chaldeans and Akkadians were, it becomes clear that the assertion of their ethnical identity with some other race is at present incapable of proof.

We are therefore led to conclude that, when Dr. Oppert calls the Gauda-Dravidians (the original inhabitants of India) Turanians, he simply means that, in his opinion, they are neither Aryans nor Semites; and, if we give these two terms their usual popular meaning, Dr. Oppert's conclusion is undoubtedly true.

But when Dr. Oppert tries to identify the original inhabitants of India, as a whole, with other specific races the Finns and their kindred; the Ugrians or Hungarians; the Akkadians and Chaldeans; we are forced to conclude that he is doing so in the entire absence of ethnical evidence; that his conclusion is simply a personal opinion, apparently based on the application of the name Turanian to all these peoples; and the name Turanian has, as we have seen, no positive value and no definite meaning at all.

The word Chaldean leads us to the question of chronology. We find Dr. Oppert writing:† "In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himâlaya, or elsewhere in this country."

This passage, which illustrates the chronological tendencies of Dr. Oppert's work better than any other, contains three

* p. 284.

† p. 336.

assumptions : first, that the Biblico-Chaldean deluge and Manu's deluge refer to the same event, while exactly the contrary has been held by a majority of scholars, and we know that there have been many deluges in the history of the world. Secondly, it is assumed that there is some evidence for the date of the Biblico-Chaldean deluge, a rather misleading phrase, as the Biblical and Chaldean dates differ enormously, the one being some two thousand five hundred years before our era ; the other about forty thousand years before it. Thirdly, the statement that the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date—whether four or forty thousand years ago, we are not told—is open to this objection : it assumes what date the Aryans did enter India—an assumption which is exactly contrary to the facts, as we have far less knowledge of the period when the Aryans entered India than of the period when the Toltecs entered Mexico, or when the Maoris entered New Zealand ; and this fact of our ignorance cannot be too clearly realised.

We are led to conclude, therefore, that Dr. Oppert does not sufficiently realise the difficulties of ethnical evidence and ethnical proof ; and, further, that he does not sufficiently realise our complete ignorance as to the date of the beginnings of India's life ; nor the fact that all the views put forward by the early schools of orientalism were based upon a quite erroneous tradition of the recentness of the beginning of the whole human race ; a tradition which we have left behind long ago. Once we realise the enormous antiquity of man, we may come to recognise the possibility of an enormous antiquity for some or many of the Indian peoples. And, without a realisation of the enormous antiquity of man, we shall be able to form no sound conclusions on the evidence as to the possible antiquity of any single race or group of races. We have dwelt at some length on these two questions—ethnical evidence and chronology—with reference to Dr. Oppert's book, just because we believe by far the greater part of Dr. Oppert's book to be excellent and enduring work ; work of such value as to mark the beginning of a new era of Indian orientalism, founded on direct and comprehensive study of the Indian peoples themselves. The work of the two great schools of Indian orientalism whose results we have briefly touched on, is marred by these two errors—deficient ethnical sense, and a deficient sense of the enormous antiquity of man. And the confusions springing from these two radical errors have lasted more than a century.

It would, therefore, be a matter for extreme regret, if Dr. Oppert's book, which we believe, marks the beginning of a new era, should carry on into the work of that new era, the same errors which have already been so fruitful in confusion.

Let us now turn to Dr. Oppert's conclusions, recognising their necessary limitations in these two directions ; recognising that Dr. Oppert, in speaking of races, means, not groups united by a common ethnical character, but groups united by common culture, common language, common religion, and a common name.

Dr. Oppert gives to the older strata of Indian races which preceded the Aryans, the general name of Bharatas, because the Bharatas were, in olden times, the most numerous and most honoured representatives of these older races ; after whom the country received its name, Bharatavarsha, or Bhâratavarsha, the land of the Bharatas. Dr. Oppert considers the Bharatas essentially a race of mountaineers, and believes their name is intimately connected with the Gauda-Dravidian root *para, pârai*, mountain.

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity as Kuru-Panchâlas, and Kauravas and Pândavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kuruvas or Kurumbas, and Mallas or Malayas. All these names Dr. Oppert derives from words meaning mountain, thus supporting his view that the Bharatas—the pre-Aryan peoples of India,—were essentially a race of mountaineers. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and, although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

" Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions," writes Dr. Oppert,* " was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which, in matters of this kind, are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that, though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India."

In spite of this conclusion, we have failed to find any adequate proof, in the ethnical evidence quoted by Dr. Oppert, of the unity of race of the Indian peoples whom he calls Gauda-Dravidians, and of their race-relationship with northern

* p. vi.

Turanian peoples. Indeed, the evidence quoted seems to us to point in an opposite direction. Let us mention only two or three instances.

In discussing the relations of the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills, Dr. Oppert quotes the statement that "this remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the natives of Hindustan*;" and further speaks of "their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races."† From other authorities, we know that characteristics of the Todas are great height, fair colour, occasional blue, grey, or hazel eyes, and abundant curly hair. A little further on,‡ Dr. Oppert quotes a description of the Mullu Kurumbas, who are "small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. They are, as a body, sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips." We are further told that the Kurumbas are an "almost dwarfish race;"§ and again, that "the hair of both sexes stand out matted like a mop, and their complexion is very dark,"|| We are told that the Kotas have "a copper color,"¶ and that the Kurus, or Cooroos, "are naturally of a bamboo colour,"** that is, apparently, pale yellow.

Now the ethnical difficulties in considering the tall, fair Todas, the dwarfish, black Kurumbas, the copper coloured, or red Kotas, and the presumably yellow Kurus as members of the same ethnical group, are so great as to be almost insurmountable. We should like to see this evidence supplemented in every case by a series of skull measurements, and a precise description of colour; the word fair, as applied to the Todas, is very unsatisfactory and inadequate to support his view of the ethnical identity of the Gauda-Dravidian races. Dr. Oppert further quotes†† Mr. Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*: "The data thus obtained from six thousand persons, representing eighty-nine of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India, from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type, which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two, while in other and perhaps the most important points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all, is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal . . . This type . . . may conveniently be described as Mongoloid."

As Mr. Risley's conclusions apply only to Northern India,

* p. 181.

† p. 189

‡ p. 228.

§ p. 219.

|| p. 223.

¶ p. 194.

** p. 203.

†† p. 575-6.

they do not, of course, touch the question of the race identity of the Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas, and Kurus, nor weaken what we have said about the great difficulties of establishing this race-identity along sound ethnical lines. But what they do prove is that there are immense ethnical difficulties in the way of connecting the Mongoloid races, who are generally called Northern Turanians, with the Dravidian races who are sometimes called Southern Turanians.

Thus almost all the only clear ethnical evidence which Dr. Oppert quotes, militates against his theory of the race-unity of the "Turanian peoples;" and also against the race-unity of the Southern Indian tribes whom Dr. Oppert classifies as Gauda-Dravidians.

Let us now return to Dr. Oppert's summary of his conclusions. Dr. Oppert writes :* "The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian Continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. . .

"In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda-Dravidian, population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhârs, Brahins, Mhâs Mahârs, Pahârias, Paravâri, Parâdas and other tribes; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Chandâlas with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connection with the ancient Kandâlas and the present Gonds. In addition to this, I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kolis, Kois, Khonds, Kodagas, Koravas Kurumbas and others really belong to the Gaudian division, both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatas. Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypothesis on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the

* p. vi.

Gaudian and the Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprived."*

We learn, a little further on, the precise meaning Dr. Oppert gives to the names Gaudian and Dravidian. "The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain,"† he writes "are *Mala*, (*Malai*, *Pâr Pârâi*, etc.), and *Ko* (*Kouda*, *Kuru*, *Kunru*, *Kora*, etc.) Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mâlas*, *Mâlavas*, *Malayas*, etc., and of the *Koyis Kôdulu*, *Kondas*, *Gondas*, *Gaudas*, *Kuruvas*, etc. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko*, Gaudians."

We shall not follow Dr. Oppert through the learned and admirable articles on each of these tribes, which make his book a real encyclopædia of the Indian peoples; but we may say, without hesitation, that his comprehensive and careful work has certainly given to the study of the people whom he calls Gaudians and Dravidians, a very much higher position than it ever held before in the field of orientalism; and a much closer relation than it ever held before to the other section of Indian studies which is most *generally concerned* with Sanskrit literature, and the splendid achievements of what we may call, provisionally, the Aryan race. So far therefore, the aim of Dr. Oppert's work has been amply fulfilled.

Leaving the field of ethnography, Dr. Oppert turns to the religions of India; and it is here that his work becomes most original and valuable; for here, in questions of religion, the value of purely ethnical evidence is much less important, and Dr. Oppert's wide critical training and equally wide acquaintance with the peoples of Indian, show to the best advantage.

Dr. Oppert writes:‡ "In the third part, which treats on Indian theogony, I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non-Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the forces of nature, which develops gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator, with whom were associated eventually the two figure-heads of preservation and destruction, all these three together forming the Trimûrti as represented by Brahman [masculine *Brahmâ*] Vishnu, and Shiva.

"About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change, and the idea of the existence of a Supreme

* p vii., viii.

† p 13.

‡ p. viii.

Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non-Aryan principle of the female energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Sâlagrâma stone, which Vishnu afterwards appropriated as his emblem."

The, 'Turanians' with whom Dr. Oppert believes the doctrine of the female energy to have originated, are the Akkadians. We are fairly certain that their language is 'Turanian'; that is, neither Aryan nor Semitic; but of their race, in the strict ethnical sense, we know absolutely nothing; so that we can form no presumption of the relation of their race to the doctrine of the female energy. We may also say here that Dr Oppert may possibly be wrong in saying that this doctrine was not of Aryan origin if we include the Slavonic nations in the Aryan family, as Dr. Oppert would doubtless do. For among the Slavs we find undoubted traces of a goddess mother very similar to the goddess mother whom Dr. Oppert shews to be the dominant power in the ancient Dravidian religion. In ancient Russia we have thus mother Damp Earth, or mother Fertile Earth as the goddess mother; and in ancient Poland and Bohemia we have the goddess Dziewanna, or Jivana, Life, etymologically the same as the Sanskrit, Jivana, life.

And in a totally different section of the human race we have the same idea; for the Polynesian peoples, and especially the Maories of New Zealand, have the goddess Earth as the great mother in their oldest myths.

Dr. Oppert continues: "I have further tried to show how the contact with the non-Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans, and modified some of the features of their deities. *Brahman* was thus, by assimilating himself with the non-Aryan chief-god and demon-king, Aiyânâr, transformed into a Brahma bhûta, while the very same Aiyânâr was changed into *Shiva* in his position as demon-king or Bhûtanâth, and *Vishnu* became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the female principle and taken for Umâ."

On the subject of Umâ, Dr. Oppert has written very much of great interest, but it appears to us that his conclusions may require to be modified in two directions. Umâ, of course, is first known to us from the famous story in the Kena or Talavakâra Upanishad. Brahma won a victory for the Devas. The Devas exulted in his victory, claiming it as their own. Brahma became manifest as a Yaksha; the Devas sent Agni

and Vaya and Indra to learn who this Yaksha was. Agni and Vaya failed, and had to confess their inferiority to the unknown power. Indra approached, and the unknown power suddenly disappeared from him. There, in the ether, Indra met a woman, very resplendent, Umâ Haimavatî, who declared to him the secret of the unknown power, who was Brahma, the eternal.

Shankârâchârya, commenting on this passage, tells us that Umâ is wisdom, in the form of a woman, in the form of Umâ, (Vidyâ Umârûpinî). Sayanâchârya, commenting on a passage in the Taittirîya Aranyaka, mentions this passage, and tells us that Umâ is the wisdom that reveals the eternal. Now there is an Aryan root *um*, or *oum*, which has a whole series of compounds in the Slavonic languages, and this root *um*, in compounds *umo*, has exactly the meaning which Shankara and Sayana give to Umâ ; it means, that is, wisdom, knowledge, or intelligence. It may very well be, then, that this root appears in Sanskrit as Umâ Haimavati, the woman very splendid, who reveals the eternal Brahma to the Devas, and we could easily supply a hundred instances to show the extremely close phonetic relation between Sanskrit and the Slavonic languages, a closeness which makes it entirely possible that the words *umo* in the one should become *umâ* in the other ; that wisdom in the one should become the goddess wisdom in the other. For *agny*, the common word for fire in the Slavonic languages, has become, in Sanskrit, Agni, the Vedic fire god, and *Jivana*, which means life in Sanskrit, has become Dzievanna, or Jivana, the goddess life, in the Slavonic tongues. Therefore, it may very well be that Umo, wisdom, in Slavonic, has become Umâ, the shining goddess, revealer of the eternal, in Vedic Sanskrit.

Umâ is clearly the same as Vâch, the feminine word, the feminine formative Logos ; the same as Sarasvati, queen of learning ; and the same as Sâvitri and the feminine Virâj. Now Vâch appears in the very earliest of the Vedic hymns. In the 164th hymn of the first Mandala, verse 45, we read

“ Chatvâri Vâk parimita padâni
Tâni vidar Brâhmanâh yemanîshinah. ”

“ Vâch is defined in four steps ; the knowers of the eternal, who are wise know them.” And this feminine Vâch, defined in four padas, or steps, irresistively reminds us of the four steps of Brahma, in the Mândûkya and Chândogya Upanishad, where we are told of the fourfold eternal, Brahma Chatushpât and the mystical connexion between Brahma and Vâch is here very plain, if we remember the doctrine of the emanations (*srshti*) and the position of the feminine word, or feminine Logos, in this doctrine. It is, therefore, clear that the fully

developed doctrine of Vâch is enormously old, and is probably referred to in the first Mandala of the Rig Veda hymns, and how great the antiquity of these earliest hymns may be, is one of the points about which one would like to speak with caution. We can only say that we believe their antiquity to be enormous.

So that Dr. Oppert's conclusions as to the absence of the goddess mother from the old Vedic religion of the Aryans, seem to us to be rather doubtful; as does his derivation of Umâ from *Amma*, 'mother,' in the Dravidian languages. It is doubtless true that *Amma* and Umâ were blended together as Ambikâ at a later period, and that much of the dark character of the Dravidian goddess was attributed to the resplendent Umâ, the fair lady of wisdom.

But we believe the truth is, as we have suggested, that Vâch was the negative, receptive, passive energy of the formative power from the earliest ages of the Vedic hymns; that Vâch, as goddess, of wisdom, is the same as Umâ, personified wisdom; as *Umo* is wisdom, not personified, in the Slavonic tongues. While *Amma*, the mighty mother, was the earth goddess among the Dravidians, with whom some of the darker, earthly elements had been associated, as they were with the earth mother of the Polynesians.

When the Aryan and Dravidian peoples met—how many ages ago, we cannot even guess—the similarity of the two goddess mothers, Vâch (the feminine potency of the formative power, who is, in the Chhândogya Upanishad specifically identified with Prthivî, earth,) and *Amma*, the goddess mother of the Dravidians, who is the earth, was so great that they became insensibly blended, in Ambikâ the wife or sister of Rudra, or Shiva, who had come to be regarded as the representative of the male formative power; so that his consort became fittingly the feminine power, which we know outwardly as earth, the all producing goddess.

When we speak of mother earth or of mother nature, we are not really borrowing a 'Turanian' idea, whether Akkadian, or Chaldean, or Dravidian, as Dr. Oppert would have us believe. We are rather drawing a graphic, world-true simile from the universal experience of man. We may, however, with advantage, quote what Dr. Oppert says of the peculiarly non-Aryan character of the worship of the mother-goddess as he finds it among the Dravidian peoples.

"The principal deities of the ancient Aryans were of the male sex, and their consorts, whatever influence they possessed otherwise, derived their power mainly from being the wives of the great gods. The Aryan pantheon did not admit a goddess to supreme authority, nor did it allow to the wives

of the gods an equal share in ruling Pallas Athene (Minerva), the daughter, and Hera (Juno), the wife of Zeus (Jupiter), were thus dependent on the will of the chief of the gods, and Indrânî, Agnâyî and Varunânî, the wives respectively of Indra, Agni, and Varuna, occupied, as such, in the Veda, only a secondary position. But this principle of male exclusiveness did not prevail among the Turanian races, for Davkina, the lady of the earth, was revered in ancient Babylonia as respectfully as was Ea, the lord of the water, and she was also worshipped as the creator of the world. The same idea predominates among the Gauda-Dravidians of India, where from a far remote period the mother earth, the representative of the female energy, was worshipped as the principal deity, and where, even at the present day, its substitute, the local Grâma-devatâ, is revered as the founder or creator of each village or town, as had been the practice in ancient Babylonia."*

In another place, Dr. Oppert writes: "The fish Oannes conceals under his fishy form a human body with human head and feet, and speaks with a human voice. Oannes . . . is Ea-kin, the god of the deep, as well as of the earth and of heaven; whose special home was Erida, the modern Abu Shahrein, on the Persian Gulf, which represented to the Chaldean mind the Ocean, the great receptacle of all streams and rivers. He emerged from the watery element of the celestial ocean which is personified as the goddess Ziku. As consort stands at his side an independent female deity, Dav-ki (Dav-kina), the lady of the earth; the special goddess of Eridu. Each Babylonian city had its special goddess or creatress, as every Indian hamlet and town has its peculiar Grâmadevatâ. Ea-kin alone knows the supreme name in which is centered all divine power."† This would seem to point to a superiority of the male deity even in the Babylonian religion, which apparently militates against Dr. Oppert's views. Dr. Oppert continues on the subject of the female energy: "This non-Aryan worship has to such an extent been accepted by the Aryan population of India, that almost all important sacred places to which pilgrims resort from the Himâlaya mountains in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, are under the guardianship of the principle of female energy, *i. e.*, of Dêvî, Kâlî, or Shaktî, etc. The original Gauda-Dravidian grâma-devatâ, which is now also revered by the Brahmans, is, in most of these places, represented by, or transformed into, an Aryanised kshetra-devatâ. This kshetra-devatâ, or titular deity of a town, district, or country, is acknowledged as a manifestation of Shakti, and the worship of these Shaktis is specially performed on the eighth day (*Ashtamî*), of the Durgâ pujâ.

* p. 398.

† p. 326-327.

"Before the Aryan invaders became familiar with the religious tenets of their national foes, whose country they had conquered, and whom they had reduced to a state of serfdom, a considerable period of time must have elapsed. It is, however, probable that the more enlightened and more peacefully inclined men of both races came gradually in contact with one another and acquired some knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, manners, and customs of their neighbours. This could, to a certain extent, be more easily done in those early days, when the differences of birth and education had not yet produced the intolerant distinctions of caste. As soon as intercourse between the opposing camps had been established, and had led to an interchange of ideas between the two alien races, the minds of the thinking members of the two communities began to meditate about, and to assimilate, doctrines hitherto strange to them. In this way, I suppose, did the principle of the female energy and the worship of Shakti become known to the Aryans and enter into their philosophical theories, naturally in a considerably modified form. For I do not believe that any Vedic account of the creation. *e. g.*, the 129th hymn of the 12th [10th] Mandala of the Rig-Veda, can be rightly interpreted as proving that a belief in such a principle existed among the ancient Aryan population of India. No doubt *Dyaus* and *Prthivî* appear in the Rig-Veda, respectively, as god of heaven and goddess of earth, and are called father and mother; but this latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of mother earth such as we find among the Gauda-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also nowhere found among the other Aryan nations."

We believe, we have faithfully represented and sufficiently illustrated the most salient points in Dr. Oppert's work, and may sum up very briefly our conclusions. The first part of the book, which deals with the Dravidians and the Gaudians, is, in our opinion, rather an encyclopedia of the Indian peoples than a strictly ethnical study; and leaves almost untouched the strictly ethnical questions which affect the non-Aryan Indian peoples. The attempt to connect these peoples with the Northern Turanians, the Akkadians and Chaldeans, has, we believe, failed necessarily, owing to our complete ignorance of the ethnical character of these two peoples, the Akkadians and Chaldeans. But the mass of material which Dr. Oppert has collected and arranged, has not only placed the study of the non-Aryan peoples of India in a new and much better light; but has also made the future task of deciding on their precise ethnical character very much easier; by providing, so to speak, a chart of the country to be explored.

To the second part of this work, which deals with Indian Theogony, and especially with the reaction between the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples, it would be difficult to give too high praise. Dr. Oppert has practically solved the main problem, by showing first, what the beliefs of each section originally were, and secondly, by showing how the elements of each gradually intruded themselves into the other. We may differ from Dr. Oppert on certain points, but in the main we are in accord with his larger conclusions; and give him our sincere thanks for the admirable way in which his work has been done.

C. J.

ART. IX.—A GENERAL VIEW OF THE COINAGE OF
THE MOGUL EMPERORS OF INDIA.

NOW that we have full catalogues of the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India in the British Museum of London, the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Government Museum, Lahore, we are in a position which enables us to see what the coins issued by those Emperors actually were. We doubt not that, in private collections, there may be specimens not yet made public, but the published coins are quite sufficient for the purposes of a general view of the subject.

First of all, however, we must examine the monetary condition of India before the time of the Moguls. Thirty-four kings had reigned in Delhi before Bábar came to India. Of all of these kings, except two, coins are known, and *of the times* of the two kings whose names do not appear on coins, we have coins, though they bear the names of a king who was dead when the coins were struck. Of the thirty-four kings, the coins of 17 are known in gold and more than that number in silver—all struck, however, either in billon or in copper. For nearly a hundred years, however, before the battle of Pániput, which gave the throne of Delhi to the first Mogul Emperor, Bábar, no gold or silver coins had been struck in the capital. Within that period, both gold and silver coins were struck in Bengál, Jaunpúr, Málwah, Gujarat and Kulburga and Kashmír, so that the country had even then a gold, silver and copper currency. Many of the Delhi Emperors had struck immense numbers of coins of many types. The Tuglaqs and the Lodís, the predecessors of the Moguls, had been especially busy. Muhammad Tuglaq reigned 27 years; Fíroz Sháh Tuglaq reigned 37; Bahlol Lodí reigned the same number, and Sikandar Lodí reigned 29 years. Coins of every year of Fíroz, Bahlol and Sikandar are even now obtainable. These coins have nearly always different amounts of silver in them. Judging from the numbers in which they are now found, the country must have been inundated with them when Bábar came. Twenty of these billon coins went to the rupee. They were called *siyah*, or black, *tankas*, because the silver they had in them caused them to have a dark appearance. They were the favourite currency of the country. There are three tombs at Hissár, and there is one at Sonpat, on which the cost of the buildings is inscribed. It is given in *Siyah tankas*. They were built in the time of the second Mogul, which shows that the black tankas were still current in his day.

There was a vast quantity of small copper also current.

These were fractional parts of the black tankas, and were used for change and small purchases.

The kingdoms of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat and Kulburga had also, in addition to their gold and silver coins, a very large copper currency, and the copper coins composing it were of various sizes and weights and values. So that the whole of Northern India was abundantly supplied with money.

Bábar came from a land in which gold, silver, and copper were all current. There seems, however, to have been but little gold and the pieces were small. The silver was abundant. The coins of Turkistan in that metal were thin broad pieces, worth about six annas each. There was not much copper. It was struck in cities and bore, not the king's name, but the name of the city, and, as a rule, the figure of an animal and the date of mintage. When Bábar had conquered India, one of his first acts was to strike silver coins, similar to those of the land he had left, in thin, broad silver pieces, bearing his name and titles and the names of the mint and the date of mintage, all on one side, while the Muhammadan confession of faith and the names of the first four Khalifs occupied the other. For some years he coined only these silver coins, but he had mints at work in several places of India, Agra, Lahore, Jaunpur, Delhi. Towards the end of his reign he began striking in bronze. The coins were similar in weight and in mixture to the coins of the Lodís; but the legends were similar to those of the coins of Turkistan and Kabul. They had the name of the mint on them and the year of mintage, but no bronze coin has yet been found bearing the name of Bábar. No coin of his has yet been found in gold. The only innovations, therefore, made by Bábar in his Indian coinage were the coining of silver tankas instead of rupees, and the omission from the bronze coinage of the King's name. Judging, however, from the fewness of both silver and bronze coins of Bábar's days, which have come down to us, there can be no doubt that Bábar considered India to be well supplied with currencies and not to need any vast additions from his mints.

Humáyún, who succeeded Bábar, during his first reign, coined, as his father had done; but, besides silver and bronze, he occasionally struck small gold pieces. His first reign of nine years was not productive of much silver money. Still, wherever he went he coined, except when he went to Bengal. His conquest of Champanir seems to have pleased him so much that he struck silver and bronze coins there. One bronze coin records the "conquest of Champanir" in 942 Hijrí; another was struck in the "noble city of Champanir." The silver coins of this place were struck in the same year. But Humáyún struck also silver in Kábul and Qandahár, as well as Lahore, Delhi, Agra and

Jaunpúr. His brother, Kámrán, who left him and went to Kábul, took the Indian struck silver coins to Kábul, and then re-struck them with his own name, so that we have counter-struck coins of Humáyún bearing Kámrán's name. Kámrán also struck coins in Kábul like those of his brother. When Humáyún left India, his coinage and that of his father, Bábar, had affected the currency but little. Sher Sháh Súr, who had driven him away, evidently thought that a reform in the currency was necessary. The black tankas were all of different values, as the amount of silver varied in each. The numerous small copper coins that were current must have been a nuisance rather than a help. In no two countries of India were they of the same weight. Sher Sháh's plan was to have a copper currency to which apparently the silver and gold coins he issued were to act as measures of value. The copper coin was a dām of about 320 grains. Of these forty went to the rupee. The whole land revenue of the country was assessed in dāms. Mints were established all over the country to produce these dāms in quantities sufficient to meet the demand for them. Half dāms and sixteenths were also coined. Quarter dāms and eighths are almost, if not altogether, unknown. Perhaps some of the current copper coins were used. These copper coins had on them the name and titles of the king, the mint and year. These items were arranged in a great variety of ways.

Sher Sháh's rupees were broad, fine pieces, weighing about 175 grains. They had his name and titles on them in Arabic and Hindi, and the mint and year on one side. The other was occupied by the Kalima and the names of the first four Khalifas. There were some exceptions to these arrangements, however. It is evident that the ratio between the rupee and the dām was that of their metallic values. Forty dāms of copper, of 320 grains each, were equal in value to 175 grains of silver. Very little gold was coined by the Sher Sháh; so we do not know what the relative values of silver and gold were in his reign.

After Sher Sháh, four other Súrí kings coined, on the lines started by the founder of the dynasty. Vast quantities of copper coins must have been issued during the 16 years of Humáyún's absence from India. They were necessary to the fiscal arrangements inaugurated by Sher Sháh.

When Humáyún returned, he fell in with the arrangements the Súrís had made. He struck rupees and he issued dāms. Both are known of the year 962. He, however, omitted his name from the copper coins, and he did not put it in Hindí on the silver ones. His death put an end to his mint projects.

Akbar became King of India in 963 H. The Lahore mint, near which he was when he heard of his father's death, at once began to issue thin silver coins, like those of Humáyún and

Bábar. But this was soon stopped. The Agra and Dehli mints coined rupees of full weight, and were followed by other mints all over the country. Dáms were issued in vast quantities from a great number of mints every year. The assessment of the land was made and paid in dâms. Rupees were numerously coined. Half rupees and quarter rupees and eighths and tenths and twentieths were also struck. As Akbar extended his Empire, he opened fresh mints for gold, silver and copper, and this went on for thirty years. Every year gold, silver and copper coins were issued, from some mints regularly, from others as occasion required. Some of the coins in gold and silver were small, thin pieces. Some of the rupees were like Sher Sháh's, but with the name in Hindí omitted. Some of the copper coins imitated the copper coins of Sher Sháh, and some are known with the Kalima on the reverse. The copper coins were, in these thirty years, invariably called "fulus" on the coins themselves. Halves, quarters, and eighths all had the same name on them. The gold coins never exceeded 170 grains, the silver never 180.

In the 30th year of his reign Akbar altered the inscriptions on his coins, but not their weight. This alteration was due to a change in his religious views. His success had puffed him up. He regarded himself as God. He therefore caused his name to appear on the coins as الله اكبر "Akbar is God," and he added جل جلاله "May his brightness shine forth." He invented also a new kind of salám, which was really an act of worship. He ceased using the Muhammadan Kalima on his coins, and used instead the two short sentences given above. He also ceased using the Hijrî year. He used the year of his reign, and he called that الهي divine. As his mints were at work the whole year through, he caused the month in which each coin was struck to be recorded on it, as well as the year and the mint. The months he used were those in use by the fire-worshippers of Persia, not the Muhammadan months. Akbar lived twenty years after he had made these changes in his coin legends.

On his copper coins of these last twenty years appear some new coin names "Tanka," "Nímtanka," "Chhárum hissa-i-tanka," "Hashtam hissa-i-tanka," and "Shánzdaham hissa-i-tanka;" on one coin is "damrí," on another "damra," on another "ním dâm," on another "nisfe." There is a series of copper pieces on which come the names در تنگ or چو تنگ or یک تنگ or دو تنگ or یک تنگ or دو تنگ. These have the names of the months and the mints on them, together with the Ilahi year. They are said to have been weights issued from the mints as standard weights for goldsmiths. Their names, however, do not agree with those given in the Aín-i-Akbarí, neither do the

weights. The weights do not agree either with goldsmith's weights used in the bazaars. Quite recently we obtained some of the latter in agate and crystal. They differ from the coins considerably. The *tanka* named above has nothing to do with this latter series of coins. It weighed about 640 grains and was therefore a double *dám*. It is rarer than our own large two-penny pieces struck in Birmingham in 1797.

The copper and silver mints of Akbar were very numerous. The coins give the names of many mints not given in the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, As, however, that book was composed before Akbar's death, and as Akbar's mints went on striking coins until that event, some of the later-opened mints could not be recorded. We must remember, however, that only in one part of India has search been made for Akbar's coins. Further search will undoubtedly give us more mint names, and further varieties of his coinage.

According to the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, many coins were minted, of which we have not a single specimen now. There were* 100, 50, and 25 mohur pieces. He is said at his death to have left coins of this kind worth over 97 millions of rupees. Besides which he left one hundred millions of rupees in silver and two hundred and† thirty millions of copper pieces in his treasury. Of all this enormous wealth a few thousands of rupees, a few hundred copper pieces, and one 5 mohur gold piece have come down to our time and are now known.

We are told that the ordinary gold mohur was worth from 8 to 10 rupees. It is now worth from 26 to 28.

Three couplets are known on Akbar's coins. One was on a rupee struck at Allahabad. The other two were on Agra mohurs. The Allahabad rupee is of three varieties : one has neither year nor month on it : one has the year without the month, and one has both year and month. There was, however, a lot of poetry on the large coins of Akbar.

At the death of Akbar there must have been a vast amount of gold, silver and copper current in the country. His mints had been at work 50 years. The *Súrís* had coined for 16 years before his time. Even now it is not difficult to obtain silver and copper coins of every one of those 66 years. Of some years of Akbar, coins may be obtained of every month. The currency of India was, therefore, in a better condition than that

* When Jahángír went from Allahabad to Agra to condole with Akbar on the death of his wife Jahángír's mother, he presented as a *nazr* 200 mohurs of 100 tolas each, 4 of 50 each, 1 of 25, 1 of 20, and 3 of 5 tolas each. *Tozuk-i-Jahagiri*.

† Jahangír at the beginning of his reign gave several lakhs of dams to Dost Muhammad to distribute in alms ; to several others he gave a lakh each for the same purpose ; to another he gave 5,000 rupees ; at the same time he ordered 50 000 dams to be given away daily.

of any other country in the world. Purchases could be made in it to any extent, however great or small. There were no tokens. Everything was current at its intrinsic value. The coins of previous dynasties had not been called in. This must have caused confusion to a certain extent ; but when once the Surí dynasty's and Akbar's coinage had set a standard, all the coins of previous dynasties would be valued intrinsically. Their presence would add to the time necessary for a bargain and to the zeal with which folk would commence the wrangling.

Some of Akbar's mohurs and rupees are square. He revived a custom which Qutb-ud-Dín Mubarak Sháh had started. Jahángír succeeded to an Empire replete with money, and to a full treasury. He made some few changes in the coins. In the early years of his reign he began to strike gold coins a quarter as heavy again as those of Akbar, and silver coins a quarter as heavy again as Akbar's rupees. For the first five years of his reign, too, he returned to the use of the Kalima on his mohurs and rupees. After that he began the use of Persian couplets, in which were mentioned the month and the mint, or sometimes the mint only, and sometimes neither month nor mint. Sometimes he put only the year of his reign on his coins, and he called it, as his father had done, "Ilahi," or "divine." Sometimes he added the Hijrí year. In the preface to the Lahore catalogue 38 Persian couplets are given.

Jahángír struck few copper coins, and some of these were Surí dáms re-struck. He introduced some new names for his copper coins, *rawáne*, *ráij*, *nám ráij* and *rawán* appear, as well as *fulus*. The Lahore catalogue gives 22 of his copper coins, the British Museum gave one only. There was no need for the fresh coining of copper by Jahángír. The country was well supplied when he ascended the throne. The dáms were thick, dumpy coins which could not wear down easily.

One small silver coin Jahángír seems to have invented, the "*nisár*," a coin as its name shows meant for distribution, or scattering, amongst the people, on anniversaries of coronation days and birthdays and such like festivals. These coins are of great beauty, and are now amongst the rare things obtained by numismatists. The Lahore catalogue has three only, the British Museum none.

Jahángír issued one unique series of mohurs and rupees. They are called zodiacal, because they have on one side the signs of the zodiac. These signs were beautifully worked out images, the work of some European artist. They are now of the greatest degree of rarity. Many imitations are, however, obtainable. Jahángír, like his father, coined large gold and silver coins. In his biography he gives a list of these, and he speaks sometimes of making presents of them to ambassadors and people of rank. One only is now known, and it is only a five mohur piece.

Jahángír, of all the Mogul Emperors, was the only one who attempted his portrait on his coins. This is in several cases given with the addition of that greatest of all shameful abominations to a Musalman, the wine cup. On the reverse of one is the sun. The Moguls were said to be sun-worshippers. One old traveller says, that the Emperor used to rise every morning and worship the sun, and he describes the window where this act was performed. Both Akbar and Jahángír used the old Persian months on their coins, and these were the months used by the Sassanians, who were fire-worshippers. These two facts, the sun on some coins, the Persian months on many others, may have given rise to the misstatement. From the use of the word *divine* we know that Akbar and Jahángír laid claim to divinity. One of the coin couplets of Jahángír slyly hints at this. He says that the numerical values of the letters in his own name and in that of God *الله* are the same.

One other coin of Jahángír's deserves notice. He struck both mohurs and rupees on which are his own name and that of his lovely queen, Núr Jahán.

The workmanship of the coins of Jahángír is superb. It is the best that was ever performed by any oriental die-sinkers. After his time the art of die-sinking suffered decadence.

There are very few coins of Jahángír to represent divisional parts of the rupee, though it is said they were struck. The mints of Jahángír are fewer than those of his father. Some towns, however, occur on his coins which are not on Akbar's, but there are many mint towns of Akbar's time from which no coin has been seen of Jahángír's. Thus Multán was a mint of Akbar's, but no one has seen a coin of Jahángír's from this mint. This cannot be easily accounted for, as, from the 1st year of Sháh Jahán, Multan again figures on the coinage. All mint records being lost, we are dependent on the coins alone. They are our mint records, and we know scarcely anything beyond what they tell us.

Sháh Jahán succeeded his father, Jahángír. His name as prince was Khurram. A rupee of his, struck at Lahore, has that name on it, together with Sháh Jahán. In his first year Sháh Jahán, at some of his mints, caused the word *Hijrí* to be struck on his mohurs and rupees, in contradistinction to *Ilahí*, which had been so prominent on the rupees and mohurs of Jahángír. This was politic. Sháh Jahán needed the help of all the Muhammadans he could conciliate. The reverses of the rupees and mohurs had the Kalima restored to them. With it, however, for many years, from several mints, coins were issued having the Ilahi year and the old Persian month of the fire worshippers. Couplets were banished from the coins. There is, however, one couplet on a Dehlí rupee when new Dehli was first called Shahjahanabad. No genuine

square coin is known of Sháh Jahán's, in either gold or silver, although Jahángír had coined in both metals, round and square coins indiscriminately. The gold coin kept up the usual weight of the mohurs, and there was no alteration in the weight of the rupee. Halves of rupees were struck. Nisárs, the weight of a quarter of a rupee, were also coined. Copper coins of Sháh Jahán are seldom found now-a-days. There was no need for his adding to the copper currency. Some dáms and some eighths of dáms are all that are known. Large gold coins continued to be struck ; but only one is now known to be in existence. From all this it will be seen that Sháh Jahán's coins are monotonous. They were intended for use, and performed that function admirably. Perhaps, it ought to be mentioned, that a pretender named Dáwar Bakhsh issued rupees at Lahore in the first year of Sháh Jahán. Only one rupee seems to have survived.

When Sháh Jahán was dethroned, two of the rival brothers, Shah Shuja and Murad Bukhsh, issued rupees in their own names. But Aurangzeb, the sly, successful brother, soon obtained the throne, and the other brothers, in various ways and by various means, disappeared. Aurangzeb abolished the Kalima from his coins. He regarded it as too holy a sentence to be in the hands of infidels. After a year or so, during which he used his names and titles on his coins, he fixed on a couplet for the obverse of his mohurs and rupees, and during his long reign of 51 years he adhered to it. The only change he made was that of putting part of this couplet in a square area. The reverse of such rupees, as have this square area on the obverse, have the name of the mint in a similar square area.

Aurangzeb possessed more of India than any other Mogul Emperor, but it was in his time that disintegration commenced. Over fifty mints of his are known. They show the extent of his empire. His gold and silver coins must have been struck in vast quantities all over the country. The weight and quality of the metal were uniform. Only *nisárs* are known of his small silver coins. He must have been miserly, for not a dozen specimens have come down to our time. He struck very little copper, but he made a change in his copper coins. The rupee had become so plentiful that there was no need for copper in making large payments. It was needed now only for change and small purchases. He reduced the weight from 320 grains to about 220. One copper coin of Surat is known weighing now 316 grains. The Lahore catalogue gives 24 of his copper coins ; of Akbar it gave 284. This shows, perhaps, the relative proportion of the amounts of the copper coins issued in these two long reigns. In Akbar's time copper was a necessity. In Aurangzeb's, it was wanted only for small transactions.

One small silver coin of Aurangzeb's deserves notice. It was square and was called a "legal drachm." It weighs now 46·5 grains. This is about the weight of the old dirhams of the Khalifas of Baghdad and Damascus.

On the death of Aurangzeb, Azim Sháh and Kam Bakhsh set up as pretenders for a short time. They struck both mohurs and rupees, which are now amongst the rarest acquisitions of the coin collector.

Sháh Alam Bahadur I. succeeded to the throne. He gave orders that no couplets should be used on his coins. Of course, he was not obeyed. Three couplets have been found on his rupees. His short reign of 6 years was prolific in mohurs and rupees, but no copper coins are known bearing his name, and no silver coin less than a rupee. The only thing to vary the monotony of his issues is the mint names. Jahándár Sháh, who succeeded Sháh Alam, reigned only part of a year ; so, of course, his coins were never numerous. They are known in gold and silver only. Farrukhsiyar next reigned for seven years. The minting of mohurs and rupees went on as usual. Some few coins in copper bear his name. One small square silver legal drachm has been found. It weighs 41·5 grains. He used one couplet on his coins. Jahándár Sháh had used several or rather several variants of one. In the year that Farrukhsiyar died, three kings ascended the throne of Dehli, Rafiá-ud-Daraját, Rafiá-ud-Daulat and Muhammad Shah. The two former died within the year. Their mohurs and rupees are known from several mints. Those of Rafiá-ud-Daraját had a couplet on them. The numismatic name of Rafiá-ud-Daulat was Sháh Jahán.

Muhammad Sháh reigned 31 years. His mohurs and rupees are even now abundant. His copper coins are rare, but still they are met with. They are of the reduced weight of Aurangzeb's copper coins. He used no couplets, and his coins in consequence have little on them besides the years and mints to recommend them. As usual, the mints were at work every year. The mints were getting fewer and fewer and nearer and nearer to Dehli. Muhammad Ibrahim was an interloper at the commencement of this reign. He coined mohurs and rupees.

It was during the reign of Muhammad Sháh that Nádir Sháh invaded India. His sack of Dehli is one of the most terrible things we read of in history. The loot his soldiers accumulated was taken from them ; and much was melted down into ingots. Rupees were struck at Dehli by the invader, who had struck double mohurs at Lahore on his way down. Nádir Sháh must have taken away with him a vast amount of bullion, but it seems to have been of little use to him or his country. It was probably buried and has never been exhumed.

Ahmad Sháh was the next king of Dehli. Ahmad Sháh Durrání was crowned in the same year as Ahmad Sháh of Dehli, in Qandahar, and the same year he invaded the Panjáb and struck rupees in Lahore. Whenever he returned to his mountain home, the Lahore mint seems to have been busy coining for his Dehli namesake. This kind of thing went on in the reign of the next king of Dehli, Alamgir II, who was the last Mogul Emperor to coin in Lahore. It was in his days that Ahmad Sháh Durrání defeated and destroyed the Mahrattas at Pánipat. The Durrání and his son, Taimur, struck many coins in the north of India, but none in copper. They were of the same make and weight as the rupees of the Mogul Emperors. Ahmad Sháh Durrání's Lahore coins go on for many years. Alamgir II coined in gold, silver and copper. His copper coins were lighter still than those of Aurangzeb and Muhammad Sháh's.

After him Sháh Jahán III reigned just long enough to coin in gold and silver; and then Sháh Alam II was put on the throne, on which he sat as titular Emperor for 49 years. Coins in gold, silver and copper were struck in his name all over the north of India. The East India Company used his name extensively on their early issues. Many native States struck coins in his name also, so that, if we regard only the coins bearing his name, we should think he was one of the most powerful Emperors of India, instead of being what he was, a poor blinded puppet King. Early in his reign the Sikhs began to strike coin at Lahore, rupees only. Shortly after that they opened a mint at Amritsar. Both mints went on working every year. Their coins do not bear the name of Sháh Alam II, which appears only on the rupees of one trans-Sutlej State, Jummún. Towards the end of the reign of Sháh Alam, the British conquered Agra and Delhi. One of the copper coins, bearing Sháh Alam's name and struck at Agra, bears the initials J. W. H. These were struck by the orders of Lieut.-Col. John William Hession, the Emperor's Governor of the Fort of Agra, who died and was buried at Agra in 1803.

The mohurs, rupees and copper coins struck by the East India Company in the name of Sháh Alam are very numerous. The records of the Company's mints give us full information about them. The coinage of the East India Company is outside the province of this short paper.

Akbar II succeeded Sháh Alam II. His empire was the Delhi Fort and nothing more. There he kept up a semblance of royalty and issued gold, silver and copper coins in his own name for many years. They were not numerous, and are now very rare. Coins struck in native States, bearing his name, are common.

Bahádur Sháh succeeded Akbar II. Of his coins only

rupees are known, struck at Delhi. Many native States, however, continued to use his name and that of the second Akbar. The Mutiny, and its result, put an end to all this playing at being Emperor.

We have shown in the above brief sketch that the Mogul Emperors conquered India, and from the time of their conquest to the very last days of the last puppet Emperor, coins were struck in their name. We have scarcely any mint records. The coins secured by years of patient collecting, however, enable us to tell the story of the work of the mints. In no history of India do we learn that at any time commerce and trade suffered from either the depreciation of the coinage, or from a paucity of coins. In the 21st chapter of Macaulay's History of England, we have a frightful picture of the state of the currency in England in 1695 A.D., which was the 39th year of Aurangzeb. Turning to the rupees described in the Lahore catalogue for that year and previous ones, we find that now, after 200 years of wear, the weights vary very little. No rupee is lower than 171 grains, while none is more than 178. So, no matter what the tyranny of the Emperors was, one thing at any rate was well looked after, the coinage. There was money in abundance, and it was good money. The gold, silver and copper coins were as nearly as possible unalloyed. Exchange varied as the intrinsic values of the metals varied. In Akbar's time the gold mohur was worth from 9 to 10 rupees. It afterwards rose to be worth 15 or 16. It is now worth 27 or 28. Gold was never a standard of value in India. Since the time of Akbar everything has been referred to the rupee. All our evils of to-day are caused by the fact, that while this standard of the rupee obtains in India, the sovereign is the standard of value at home. The enormous supplies of silver obtained during the last 20 years have far exceeded the proportionate supplies of gold, abnormal though they too have been. No one can help the present condition of things, for supply and demand are outside all legislation. *They* rule the market. Happy they whose pay is in pounds. They who receive their remuneration in rupees are unhappy sufferers, whose condition to-day, compared with their condition twenty years ago, suggests the two words—penury and prosperity.

It will be seen, from what we have written above, what a vast field the coins of the Mogul Emperors of India present to the numismatist. The catalogues of the Lahore Museum, of the British Museum, and of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, can be studied by those desirous of pursuing the subject numismatically.

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ART. X.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

Chronicles of the Cumming Club, and Memories of Old Academy Days: MDCCCXLI—MDCCCXLVI. Compiled by Alexander Fergusson, Lieutenant-Colonel; Historiographer to the Club. Edinburgh: printed for the Cumming Club, by T. and A. Constable, at the University Press, MDCCCLXXXVII.

The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*," February 1894.

INTRODUCTORY.

AN advertisement which appeared in some of the Indian newspapers early in January of the present year, inviting men in India, who had been boys at the Edinburgh Academy, to dine together in Calcutta, reminded me that I had for some time been contemplating the writing of an article, to be offered to the *Calcutta Review*, on the subject of the Edinburgh Academy in India, materials for which I had in the book of which I have first above given the title. Since I first thought of doing this, two articles tracing the connection of Ayrshire men with India have appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, namely (1) "Kilwinning in the East," by Mr Reginald Craufuird Sterndale, in October 1891, and (2) "Ayrshire in India," signed by R. M., in January 1892. Being half Ayrshire myself, these articles were specially interesting to me. R. M's article was suggested by Mr. Sterndale's, and was written by way of supplement to it. Kilwinning is a small town in Ayrshire, in the Parish of the same name, and it was the head-quarters of Freemasonry in Scotland from, as Mr. Sterndale shows, at least as early as 1286 down to 1736, when the Grand Lodge of Scotland was constituted; and the Kilwinning brethren, resisting what they considered the usurpation of their ancient rights, continued to hold independent meetings and grant charters as before, until 1807, when the Mother Lodge relinquished her ancient privileges and joined the general Masonic body. Mr. Sterndale said:—

"I need not repeat the truism that Scottish men have always been foremost in foreign enterprise and adventure, but will point out what is equally true, though not, perhaps, so widely known, that of all the shires of Scotland, none has contributed so largely in this direction as Ayrshire."

"There was hardly an Ayrshire family of note in the last or present centuries which had not one or more of its cadets in India, either in the Military, Naval, or Civil Services of the East India Company, or pursuing fortune as free merchants or sea-captains."

"It was but natural, therefore, that when a number of men of Ayr found themselves thrown together in a foreign clime, they

should try to establish among them a reminiscence of their own well-beloved Western country, and, as many of them (as was often the case with those who went abroad in those days) were Free Masons, they formed a Lodge, which they named after the Mother Lodge of Scotland, and the Parish in which most probably many of them were born,—‘Kilwinning in the East.’”

Mr. Sterndale concluded his article thus :—

“The Western country has reason to be proud of the share her sons had in the acquisition and establishment of the great Indian Empire.”

R. M. backs up Mr. Sterndale, and says that his article—“Kilwinning in the East”—presents an example which might usefully be followed with reference to other countries, or towns, or districts of the old country, which have sent their sons or daughters to the East, though, perhaps, he says, there are few parts of Scotland, England, or Ireland, which have established so long a title to recognition in India as has the county of Ayr. But neither of these writers makes mention of Ayrshiremen now in India, or who have been in it of late years.

“Having been at the same school” is well-nigh as potent a bond of union between men in India as is the fact of having come from the same country. Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Wellington, and Staff College dinners, or some of them, are annual institutions in India, and now the Edinburgh Academy has come into the field. So far as I am aware, no report of the gathering which was held in Calcutta on the 13th January last was published ; but by the courtesy of one of them, I am enabled to give a list of the names of those who attended, which, moreover, shows what they are doing in India. The peaceful nature of their occupations contrasts strikingly, as will afterwards be seen, with those of the men of war who proceeded from the school to India in the period which the “Cumming Club” commemorates. The dinner-roll of the 13th January 1894, taking the names at random, and giving the periods during which the eaters attended the Academy, is as follows :—

- F. R. RAMPINI, 1854-57, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.
- Surgeon-Captain C. G. ROBSON SCOTT, 1877-83, Indian Medical Department.
- Surgeon-Captain A. W. T. BUIST-SPARKS, 1881-83, Army Medical Service.
- J. ADAMSON, 1879-81, Chartered Bank of India, Australia, and China.
- R. D. MURRAY, 1878-81, Alliance Bank of Simla, Limited.
- L. G. BALFOUR, 1862, Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation.
- A. M. FINLAY, 1871-72, of Turner, Morrison and Company.
- W. R. DONOGH, 1868-74, Barrister-at-Law.
- C. S. CONNELL, Bank of Bengal.
- D. R. LYALL, 1852-59, Member of the Board of Revenue, Lower Provinces, Bengal.
- HARRY MACDONALD, 1867-69, Indigo Planter.

GEORGE W. WALKER, 1870-73.

FRANK F. LYALL, 1882-1889, I. C. S.

R. CARSTAIRS, 1866-69, I. C. S.

J. F. FINLAY, I. C. S., Financial Secretary to the Government of India.

JOHN MACDONALD, 1863-65, Indigo Planter.

W. J. CUNNINGHAM, 1861-64, I. C. S., Foreign Secretary, Government of India.

JAMES DALLAS, 1869-76, Capt., R. E., Assistant Secretary, Government of India, Military Department.

P. BOOTH, 1860-62, Port Trust, Calcutta.

Lieutenant H. A. LYALL, R. N., 1881-83.

It will be observed that every year, from 1852 to 1889, was represented at the dinner. The following were unable to be present:—

R. A. LYALL, of Lyall Marshall & Co., Calcutta.

Surgeon-Major T. R. MACDONALD.

Surgeon-Captain D. M. MOIR.

H. I. MCINTOSH, I. C. S.

N. D. BEATSON BELL, I. C. S.

J. D. FRASER, I. C. S.

A. E. CUNLIFFE, of Kellner & Co.

THE ACADEMY.

The *Edinburgh Academy* is a proprietary Day School, which was founded in the year 1825, to meet the felt want, as the phrase is, of a school for the boys of the new town, with suitable buildings, and an enclosed play-ground. Prior to the period with which Colonel Fergusson deals, it had, as he says, well fulfilled the expectation, in having produced sound scholars and good gentlemen. "It was considered a distinction to belong to such an institution. A certain responsibility lay on these aspirants of tender years" (those entering the first or lowest class, in October 1840), "seeing there were traditions of the school in respect of gentlemanly style and other matters." About sixty boys then joined the first class, which, Colonel Fergusson says, was an unusually large number; and, he says, the reason was that the first class was to be taken by one of the most popular of the masters, Mr. James Cumming. The system which existed from the foundation of the school down to the year when Colonel Fergusson wrote, when some changes were made, was that a boy, from the day of his joining the first class, advanced, year by year, under the exclusive care of the same master in classical studies during the first four years of his career. Then, though he was passed on to the Rector's hands to receive higher instruction in the classics—then the *spécialité* of the school—he did not altogether leave behind him the teaching of his old master, but had the advantage of the combined instruction during the remaining three years of the course. It was obvious that,

"under an arrangement of this kind it was matter of the utmost moment into whose hands a boy was likely to be intrusted on his first entry in the school. For better or worse, he and his master must be associated for many hours daily during the next six or seven years—perhaps the most important of the boy's life." Hence the run upon a popular master. Some boys would be kept back, others pressed on a little, to meet such an occasion. The fact that the boys who entered the "First" in October 1841, had fallen on most happy times and singular good fortune, was apparent to us all, says Colonel Fergusson, before we had been many days at school—

"It was, however, no new discovery that we had made. Already Mr. Cumming had secured for himself the reputation of a high-minded honourable gentleman of large attainments, and wide sympathies, which took the form of the most genial and kindly bearing towards his boys."

According to my recollection, Mr. Cumming's first classes were not the largest in this school. I think Mr. Macdougall used to have more pupils, and I think there was a Macdougall Club also, which may still exist. But Colonel Fergusson's praise of Mr. Cumming is fully justified. "Among the earlier of his pupils were Archibald Campbell Tait, Dux of the Academy, in its second year (the year in which Mr. Cumming joined it), the future Archbishop of Canterbury, and the late Frederick Robertson of Brighton." "In after years, Mr. Cumming's intercourse with Archbishop Tait was of a very cordial character." "The pupils of a former period held him in the same high esteem and affectionate regard that we did." Sir Mountstuart Grant-Duff, ex-Governor of Madras, is mentioned by Colonel Fergusson as one of Mr. Cumming's early pupils.

It seems curious that Colonel Fergusson does not mention the fact that Mr. Cumming was an ordained clergyman, though he made education the business of his life. But "The Reverend" he was—originally of the Church of Scotland, but after the Secession,—of the Free Church, I well remember hearing him preach in a country Parish Church, shortly before that event took place, but I do not think his sermon was controversial.

Long before the first year was out, as Colonel Fergusson says, our faith in our master was complete;—"Firm without harshness, gentle without weakness," such was the description given of him by one who knew Mr. Cumming well; nothing could be better or more apt. His class discipline was firm, tempered with much of geniality and not a little humour; and he, by a happy knack,

'When'er he spoke,
Made *work* seem lightsome by his mirthful joke,'

which was not wanting sometimes even when correction was administered." "Then his threats of punishment were terrible to hear. He could speak in an awful voice of 'a tremendous flogging;' but well we knew it was *sound*, and nothing more." I do not remember that Mr. Cumming ever lost his temper, or was in a passion; but he could be stern on occasion, and retribution generally followed swiftly on detection. The flogging was certainly *sound*, but perhaps that is what Colonel Fergusson means, not *vox et præterea nihil*. His "tawse" was full-sized, and heavy, and I have still a vivid recollection of the feel of it. Six lashes of the five thongs all over the palm and fingers, administered with a full swing of the body and arm, made one feel bad for hours. And Mr. Cumming did not confine the administration to the hand. He had a pretty way of whacking one over the shoulders, if he caught one up to anything as he was walking round the class. One way in which his "geniality and humour" were manifested, was in throwing the tawse at a boy, whom he saw in the distance misbehaving, whereupon the unlucky wight had to carry it up to the desk, and there receive his "palmies." The difference between the instrument and the mode of using it, was great in Mr. Cumming's and Mr. Gloag's classes. Gloag was the mathematical master, and Colonel Fergusson devotes a chapter of his book to his virtues, his humours, and his eccentricities, which I will make use of further on. Regarding Gloag's 'tawse' it is said:—

"In those days the *swish* of the 'tawse' was no unfamiliar sound at the Academy. Gloag's were produced on slight occasion. They—the instrument has no singular that we ever heard of—were hard, thin, and black" (and short, I may add), "the tips seemed—or rather we should say *seem*, for we had them in hand a few days ago,—to have been artificially hardened.

"This weapon he handled with skill and dexterity, and it was thought he took a pride in his proficiency, as those do who excel in any exercise where hand and eye must work in unison, so that the idea was common that he had acquired a taste for its use,—a

'Taste with a distempered appetite."

"This is what Peter Guthrie Tait says on the point: 'To use a well known cricketing phrase, Gloag could *get more work on* the tawse than could any of the other masters. This secret was in great part a dynamical one.'"

I hope it was Tait that taught him the secret! Gloag's stroke with the 'tawse' was a sort of rapid draw-cut; he seemed to wish to take a bit out of you; but I think Cumming's heavy, unsophisticated sweep had a more lasting effect.

Among the subjects the classical masters at the Academy had to teach was Geography, and by Cumming, at least, it was well taught, and by the aid of large maps. He was fond of the subject, and made it interesting to us by reading to us

out of books of travel by the half-hour at a time. I have never lost the love of geographical subjects and books which I then acquired. May not some of the many boys of Mr. Cumming's classes, who chose careers which led them to India and other foreign countries, have done so in fulfilment of their school dreams?

THE CLUB.

Chapter VI of the Chronicles is entitled "The Club." Mr. Cumming left the Academy in 1846, on being appointed Rector of the newly instituted Academy at Glasgow, which post he held for five years. In 1850 the degree of LL D. was conferred on him by the University of Glasgow, and in the following year he gave up his rectorship as being appointed one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. This appointment he held for three-and-twenty years, that is, till within a short time of his death. Dr. Cumming returned to Edinburgh in 1850, and, says Colonel Fergusson, it will be readily understood how cordially he was welcomed back, and "how, when his old Academy pupils of the years 1841-46 formed the resolution of joining in a Club, which should bear their respected master's name, with the object of continuing their affectionate companionship with him, and of holding together friendships of long standing, it was an honour to the class when this good gentleman accepted the position which it was their desire he should hold, with regard to themselves. 'The Class' was by this time scattered; but those of them who remained in Edinburgh took effective steps to ascertain the feelings of their late companions in this matter. Whether from those still at their studies at various Universities, or already started in their careers of life; from the New World, and the far East, and from various foreign parts, there came expressions of the warmest sympathy." At a preliminary meeting, held on 23rd February 1850, the thirteen present resolved to form themselves into a Club, to be called *The Edinburgh Academy, 1841-46, Cumming Club*. All those who attended Dr. Cumming's First Class in 1841, and Fifth in 1846, or any one or more of the intervening years, were to be entitled to admission. It was resolved that—

"the design in instituting the Club is to promote good feeling generally between the members of the class, to stimulate friendship by intercourse among those of them who have the good fortune to be still within its reach, to revive mutual interest with those whom circumstances have dispersed, and to testify the respectful regard which they cherish for their former teacher."

A circular letter was sent to every member of the class whose address could be ascertained, in various parts of the world, and the success of the movement was so complete, that that twenty-two names were enrolled by the 4th January 1851.

The first dinner was held in the "Archers' Hall," on 17th January 1851, Drs. Cumming and Gloag, Mr. Hamilton, the writing master, and Monsieur Senébier, the French master, being present as guests. "It was a great and remarkable occasion for these young fellows when they found themselves thus entertaining their old masters, and not yet able to overcome a sense of awe. Everything seems to have been done in the most dignified manner." The masters were toasted, and many more toasts followed. "The youngsters were pleased with the success of their first attempt at dinner-giving, and with themselves. The next annual dinner seems to have been equally successful, a little less stately, and perhaps more enjoyable."

"But a far more remarkable entertainment was shortly to be given by the young Club, the memory of which is still fresh with those so happy as to have been present, and no less so in the mind of the guest of this never-to-be-forgotten evening."

"In February 1852, Peter Guthrie Tait achieved the high distinction and position of Senior Wrangler at Cambridge," (and Smith's Prizeman also, I think) "This was felt to be an honour conferred on the Academy, the Masters Gloag in particular—the Class and the Club. Consequently they could do no less than offer to their old friend and Dux a banquet specially designed to do him worship." "For once the exclusive rule of the Club was broken through, and invitations scattered with a lavish hand amongst those—and they were many—who, beyond the limits of the class, held kindly memories of Tait and of the Academy. It was a high occasion for them all. Gloag could hardly divest himself of the idea that he was the hero of the occasion, such credit did he take to himself."

No wonder Gloag was proud; for though Tait, after leaving the Academy, studied for several years at the Edinburgh University before going to Cambridge, yet Gloag had taught the young idea how to shoot. I must refer to the Chronicles for an account of the pranks that were played that night, after the masters and other elder-guests were gone. I well remember some of them, led by Doyle Shaw, who was always the wag of the class: a boy whose face you could not look on without laughing.

NOCTES CŒNÆQUE.

Chapter VII, of the Chronicles is entitled, "*Noctes Cœnæque.*" After the Archers' Hall, a tavern in the Flesh Market Close, in the old town, was for some years the venue. Then the Club emigrated to West Register Street, "on classic ground, and within a stone's throw of the famous spot, where 'Ambrose' and his 'Tavern' flourished. Who has not been stirred by the glorious '*Noctes?*'"

"Nothing could be more enjoyable and real than our nights in this locality of many memories."

"Here, for the next nine years, the dinners were held—excellent dinners; our own Chaplain to say the grace, and another class-fellow to give us good wine."

"At these meetings the thoughts of the class and the old masters naturally

turned to those who were away; and we read that, one evening in January 1855, at the Flesh Market, they drank, with good wishes, to those of the Club who were abroad, especially such as were in the Crimea and Turkey."

At this time, says Colonel Fergusson, in a foot-note, there were with the Forces in the Crimea, James Paton, 4th King's Own; James Craster, 38th Regiment; Patrick Heron Watson, Assistant Surgeon, Royal Artillery; W. Brown, Assistant Surgeon, 13th Light Infantry; Frank Grant Suttie, with the Naval Brigade; and Doyle Money Shaw, Assistant Surgeon, on board H. M. S. "Spiteful," in the Red Sea.

"And now some of the Fellows who had wandered began to return, and the worthy Secretary's anxieties, as shown by the records, to keep up the numbers of the Club to be somewhat at rest.

"William Clephane, from service with the Bengal Artillery; James Vertue, of the Madras Engineers; and later, Cockburn," "and Fergusson, after the Indian Mutiny, returned. Later still, Hall came home from long medical practice in Brazil; and, after having been long 'wanted' on the Club lists, Arthur Forbes, R. N., appeared, a wanderer from the Baltic, and the China and African seas; then Charles Hope" (in 1872; I must have attended, or ought to have attended, the dinners, from 1851, until 1859,) "from India. In 1869 the Club received a welcome addition to its number in the return of Fleming Jenkin, appointed Professor of Engineering to the Edinburgh University. How pleased old Cumming was to welcome back his boys, and how genially he beamed on them through his silver-rimmed spectacles!"

Colonel Fergusson has a word or two to say about the Club's Museum. The archives were preserved in a ponderous chest which had to be produced at each annual dinner. Its contents were interesting, *e. g.*, "a fragment of Dr. Cumming's 'Tawse,' sent by a zealous member from India."

"Further more, under date 11th January 1867, it is shown that the 'Museum of the Club,' having been opened, and the precious fragment exhibited, Dr. Gloag, amidst the applause of the company, undertook to lay on the table at the next dinner of the Club, for preservation with its archives, the veritable Tawse used by him during the period of his long incumbency at the Academy; an instrument that 'he feared was already well-known to several members of the Club.' (see *Minutes*, p. 56)."

"In due course the promise was fulfilled. At the next annual dinner, 22nd January 1868, Dr. Gloag, with some solemnity, took from the pocket of his tail-coat the Tawse, and threw them on the table amidst a burst of rapturous applause.

"When they had been safely placed under lock and key, and Dr. Gloag thanked for the 'gift of the interesting relic,' the feelings experienced were chiefly these: -That a high distinction had been conferred on the Club in Dr. Gloag's having given a preference to them, above all other aspirants, by thus making them the guardians of such a treasure, and, secondly—that at last a triumph had been achieved over the adversary of our youth, now scotched and consigned to perpetual durance."

It was in January, 1871, at their twentieth annual meeting, that the Club presented Dr. Cumming with a handsome album, containing three-and-twenty photographic portraits of former members of the class, which the Secretary had, with some labour, collected in accordance with a suggestion made two years before. In July 1874, Dr. Cumming retired from the office of H. M. Inspector of Schools, which he had held since 1851, receiving the usual pension from Government. "This with-

drawal from public life was a source of regret to a wide circle of friends. Their regret was freely expressed. 'During a long period of years,' it was said, 'there was scarcely a parish in Scotland, where the name and figure of Dr. Cumming were not familiar. His presence was missed in many a country manse.' " A public presentation was made to him by a large number of teachers and other friends, "as a token of their cordial appreciation of the fidelity and genial courtesy with which for twenty-three years he discharged the duties of his office."

Colonel Fergusson says there is a certain fascination in the manner of after dinner talk at the Cumming Club :

" Perhaps there is somewhat of the old Academy feeling of independence, want of reverence, if you like, for views propounded, because they are the views of somebody ; outrageous propositions answered in a like preposterous strain ; the same free criticism as in the play-ground of the School, all in the best of good humour." " It is a rare chance, this yearly meeting, and the feeling is to make the most of it in good fellowship, and when the talkers, as they are wont to do, fall into pairs, what is ' the jargon of the schools ' to the clatter of the Club !

" When the Secretary, as the night grows late, gets up to fetch in the chest, and lay it on the table, as he is by enactment bound to do, the chances are that on his return something of this sort will meet his ears—

'The squadrons, my dear sir, were left in front ;
The enemy untouched by shot or shell ;
Down hill they rode, and fell upon the square'—
'No Sir, it was a meloid 'Dafty' drew ;
The paper for the Royal Society
Fixed such attention as you seldom see ;
Eighteen he was'—'A great age for a judge,
But then his intellect's as clear as when
He first put on his robes long years ago'—
'Long ears indeed ! I cannot quite agree'—
'To hear him in a shipping case you'd say'—
'Why fire the second barrel at the brute ?
Only to spoil the skin, when stark he lay
And dead'—'Not quite upon the putting-green,
But then with my short spoon I seldom fail
To manage such a shot'—'What luck indeed !'—
'Ergs, or tenth-mètres, it matters not one whit,'
'The foot-pounds were as seven are to two ;
And that I will maintain, tho' all the pig-
And wooden-headed owls —' &c.

One evening the Professor of Natural Philosophy, P. G. Tait, was badgered into giving the Club a specimen of those prelections of his that were found so attractive to the young, and the fair, and the 'blue,' "and such a specimen." The subject was doubtful, but "the discourse flowed on in its course smoothly, with here a quip and there a quiddity. Nothing the speaker touched he did not adorn with points of light and bits of colours deftly and daintily thrown in."

"While pipes went out and eyes were opened wide, the Professor gave, with sweetest smile, glimpses of what may well have been the wiles with which he enticed the young, and the fair, and the 'blue' into paths leading onwards to the mazes of amphicheiral and other species of Beknottedness, in the midst of which

the Cumming Club had long ere this been hopelessly entangled. During one of the momentary pauses, when the speaker stopped to keep his pipe alight with a puff or two, he casually remarks—

‘Just say when you have had enough of this—or I’ll go on for twenty minutes more.’

‘Loud as the wolves on Orca’s stormy steep
Howl to the roarings of the northern deep,
Such is the shout’

of indignation that sends the Professor—still sweetly smiling—back to his chair.”

On the 15th December 1875, “our good old master passed away. His death took place ‘with startling suddenness.’ “The Club could only give expression, in their minutes, to a feeling of ‘deep sorrow for the loss of one of whom they had so many pleasant reminiscences, and who was always so pleased to meet his old pupils.’ It is unnecessary to say more now.” Dr. Cumming’s son wrote that he was sure that it was not the mere name of the “Cumming Club” that made his father feel and speak so affectionately of the old pupils whom he met at the annual gatherings. “With great admiration for the talents of several, he seemed to think that an unusual amount of chivalrous and bright brotherly-kindness pervaded and allied the members. Of some he never spoke without the half laugh, half tears, which sought to conceal, and yet betrayed, his tenderness of feeling for them.”

For a moment, says Colonel Fergusson, there was a question whether, now that the centre of our little Society was gone, it should not be allowed to dissolve. “But it was called to mind how often our master had spoken of the hope he entertained that, when he should be called away, the Class would continue to meet as before. Accordingly the ‘twenty-fifth’ meeting of the Club was held on the 23rd March 1876. With increasing numbers and prosperity they have met annually till now. It was at the thirty-third meeting of the Club that it was ‘sincerely and solemnly declared’ that it was their wish that the Historiographer should undertake the long-talked of compilation of the Annals of the Club; he was exhorted to lose no time, and, in concert with the Secretary, endeavour to trace the careers of our class-fellows, the scraps of intelligence of some that had from time to time been received having led to the desire for more.”

THE CHRONICLES.

The book containing the Chronicles of the Cumming Club appeared towards the end of 1887. It is a small quarto volume of 229 pages, printed in antique type, with wide margins, on thick hand-made paper, and plainly but well half-bound. The publishers advertisement, which follows the preface, states that 250 copies of the book were printed, of which the Club had absorbed 150 and that the remaining 100 copies were for sale. In a circular

I received with my copy, the Secretary of the Club stated that it had been originally contemplated that the issue should be confined to the Class, the relatives of deceased members, and others, who had supplied information for the compilation, including also a few copies for the members of Dr. Cumming's family. As the work proceeded, however, it was thought that it might prove to be of interest to a somewhat wider circle of readers, and accordingly it was resolved to print 250 copies, Messrs. Constable offering to take the risk of printing and selling the extra 100 copies. "Their offer was accepted, and the whole of the copies taken by them were quickly disposed of, the demand having in fact exceeded the limited supply." The book, then, was soon out of print, and I have not heard that any subsequent edition has been printed. This must serve as part of my excuse for quoting so copiously from it. The *Chronicles* are, of course, inscribed with affection and gratitude, to the memory of Dr. Cumming, of whom a speaking likeness is given in a frontispiece, engraved from an etching, or a pen-and-ink drawing. A vignette of the Academy building is given on the title page.

In his "*Ad lectorem*," Colonel Fergusson admits that when a small Society that had hitherto sought the shade, stepped forward to break the golden silence of five-and-thirty years, and lay open the fact of its existence, and somewhat of its inner life, there seems some ground for the imputation of egotism. But the book was intended for an already contracted circle of readers, in which—and in certain outer concentric rings—there existed "That desire for sympathy that is the product of leisurely thought and kindly retrospection, to satisfy which, in some degree, this little book has been compiled.

'There's no such thing in Nature, 'and you'll draw

A faultless *Master*, whom the world ne'er saw.'

Our belief, however, runs to the contrary ; and, having run these many lustres and decades, has gathered strength and momentum hopeless to resist.

"And this is part of the tenets of our creed—that however the principles of school-mastering may be laid down, and the theories explained, in lectures and treatises of to-day, how an ignorant and erring little mortal may be put in at one end of a scientific process, and turned out at the other a finished gentleman, in our time it came by the light of a kindly nature to a gentle-hearted man to do all this ; and reap a rich crop of love and gratitude besides.

"But, we would not have it thought that any pretence is made in these records of our school days, that *we* were other than an average sample of the good old Academy's raw material ; and, in our manhood, of her completed work.

"We are not of those who would set Class against Class, or our own above the rest."

Colonel Fergusson renders due thanks to those who helped him in his work ; and he concludes his Preface by hoping that the *Chronicles* will not be thought of a complexion too mili-

tary. "Some *seven-and-twenty* of the Class went into the Services, as will be seen, at an important juncture in the history of our country ; and, with their weapons, have gathered in a goodly harvest of honours in the field and on the sea. *Thirty-nine* military decorations, including *six* of British and Foreign Knightly 'Orders,' have fallen to the share of *the Class*.

"To show how all this came about ; and to record the achievements, no less heroic, of many of our class-fellows in Civil life ; and of others with the pen ; and to trace careers of quiet industry and usefulness, is the aim of the latter part of this volume, where it has been attempted to make mention, however slight in some cases, of each one of those who were under Dr. Cumming's care at the Academy, between the years 1841 and 1846, inclusive."

The 37th Annual dinner of the Cumming Club took place on the 20th July 1888. I was at home at the time, and was very sorry that I could not be present. From a circular put forth by the Honorary Secretary, MR. ROBERT LAIDLAW STUART, I learned that there were present—Colonel J. H. GAMMELL (who presided, and who from 1853 to 1886 had not been able to attend the meetings), MR. BEATSON BELL (a name now coming to the front in India), Lieutenant-General COCKBURN, The Rev. HENRY DUNCAN, Lieutenant-Colonel FERGUSSON (the Historiographer of the Club), Captain A. FORBES, R. N., Mr. GRAY, Mr. JOHN C. ROBERTSON, Mr. WM TOD, and Mr. R. L. STUART. Four others—Mr. BRODIE, Captain WILLIAM D. O. HAY-NEWTON, Major JAMES PATON, and Professor TAIT, had intended to be present, but were prevented at the last. Apologies, containing regrets for unavoidable absence, and best wishes for the success of the meeting, were received from Sir EDWARD HARLAND, Bart., Messrs. BROUGHTON, CARRINGTON, COBBOLD, COCHRANE, CONDAMINE, and HOPE, Lieutenant-Colonel MCDUGALL, Major JOHN PATON, Mr. PITMAN, Major-General SHIRREFF, Mr. A. D. STEWART, Major-General A. UTTERSON, and Mr. P. H. WATSON, M. D. Only four out of thirty-three circulars issued had been unreplied to. Occasion was taken of that being the first dinner since the completion of the "Chronicles of the Club," to present Colonel Fergusson with a mark of appreciation on the part of the Club of his labours in the compilation of that work.* The

* While this article was in the press I have learned, with deep regret, from the Academy Army List, the title of which I have prefixed, that Colonel Fergusson died in 1892, though I have been thinking and writing of him as alive. No particulars are given. He must be sorely missed at the meetings of the Club.

gift consisted of a Silver Tankard or Claret Jug, of date 1743,
on which was inscribed—

TO THEIR SYMPATHETIC HISTORIOGRAPHER,
ALEXANDER FERGUSON,
IN GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF HIS SUCCESS
IN A LABORIOUS BUT CONGENIAL TASK,
WITH THANKS, ESTEEM, AND GOOD WISHES,
THE CUMMING CLUB,

20th July 1888.

I have already quoted pretty freely from the "Chronicles," but I must find room for a few "tidbits." "Who has not been puzzled," says Colonel Fergusson, "to individualise some of the early Christian martyrs that one sees depicted as suffering unheard of atrocities?" Regarding one of these the knowledge was fixed in our minds once and for all time.

"On one occasion Mr. Cumming put the question to his class concerning the martyrdom of St. Lawrence: 'Could any one describe the manner of his death?' Beginning at the top of the class, the wise ones—Tait, Bell, Hall, Home, were tried, and all the rest; 'Shot with arrows,' 'Wheel with spikes', and other horrors were in vain suggested. Then Mr. Cumming related, that in a former class of his, the same question had been put—'What was the end of St. Lawrence?' No one could answer, till at last an imp from the lower regions of the class 'got up dux' by answering, amidst shouts of applause—'He was brandered!' (Colonel Fergusson, owing to the imperfect nature of the English language, finds it necessary to put in a footnote—*Brander*, to broil on a gridiron,—Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*.)

"The process is associated with salmon cutlets and mutton chops. Consequently, it happens, that the ever-recurring pictures of the Saint and his gridiron, in the galleries of Italy and Germany, never fail to re-affirm the fact, for those who learned it then, that St. Lawrence was *brandered*."

There is a Scotch proverb, says Colonel Fergusson, to the effect that you find 'good gear in small parcels.' Mr. Cumming once, to the great enjoyment of all, tested the truth of the saying in so far as it applied to his class. The pupils used to sit, without desks in front of them, in horse-shoe fashion, the master's desk at the open end, and a great fire-place making a break at the toe end. "Thus it was that a rough division of the class was established between those whose *habitual* and recognised place was above the fire, and those who only casually attained to that eminence. There were about thirty on each side of the fire-place. For the purpose of Mr. Cumming's experiment the class was arranged in order of merit, the votes of the class being taken as to each boy's *usual* place, and a list drawn out." Then the class was sized, and a second list made. "The general result of the experiment, which caused intense amusement, seemed to be that many big hulking fellows found themselves for the moment advanced to positions they had

occupied but rarely ; and several below the fire, where they had never been before. Therefore, it was held, that the truth of the proverb was in some sort established—albeit there were exceptions. Our permanent dux (Tait) was hardly, if anything, moved from his place ; there were a few others, who were not displaced."

The 3rd Chapter of the Chronicles is entitled, "MATHEMATICS," and it is, perhaps, the most amusing in the book. The Mathematical Master has already been mentioned in this article for his skilful use of the 'Tawse', and his presence for long at the dinners of the Club as a guest. Mr. James Gloag (afterwards Dr. Gloag,) was described in the Rector's Annual Report for the year 1833 as 'a most honest, zealous, and energetic, teacher' and, it may be added, says Colonel Fergusson, a most eccentric one. "The name of no teacher of youth in Scotland during the last half century is more widely known than that of Dr. Gloag. A volume might well be devoted to Gloag's doings and pithy sayings. A 'chap-book' of such would run those of George Buchanan's very close." For a description of the man and his manners I must refer to the Chronicles. His dialect, or, rather, his pronunciation—unreferable to any part of Scotland—is said to have been, perhaps, his most striking characteristic. "Gloag's interchange of the words 'Rod' and 'Road' was interesting, though not peculiar to himself. For example, when a dux, distributing slates or slate-pencils, tried to pass between two crowded forms, he would say—'Haw, boni, whatna *rod's* that t' tak'?' When he had occasion for the implement of demonstration and correction, he would give the order, 'Fatch the *Road*!' The good stories about Gloag are said to be innumerable. Perhaps the best Colonel Fergusson quotes is told at the expense of the Rector, Archdeacon Williams.

"The Archdeacon tried his best to pass for a geometrician, but Gloag knew how vain his pretensions were. 'Punch' had a habit that annoyed Gloag not a little, of coming into his Class-room, generally a Saturday morning, and asking questions, and so on, as though he were quite *au fait* of all that was going on.

"On the occasion in question, Gloag put upon the black board one of his fancy propositions, such as he was wont to call 'a nice little thing', and called on the fellow at the head of the Class to make the necessary demonstration. He, however, kept silence, as did the next, and the next, while 'Punch' continued jeering them all the time—

"'Dear *me*, what a blockhead you must be ! Don't you see it ? It is quite simple.'

"'Haw !' says the artful Gloag, glancing further down the class to where 'Punch's' favourite sat, 'Sallar thinks he can do it, döz he ? Tak it, Sallar !' This was Gloag's peculiar pronunciation of the name.

"There is a long pause ; the Rector's favourite makes no progress, though encouraged in turn by both masters.

"'Noo, Sallar,' says Gloag, with a tap on the board, 'Don't keep us waiting on ye all day.'

" Still there was no response.

" ' Why, Sellar, my boy', says the Archdeacon, disappointed, ' Don't you see it ? Think a moment. It's quite easy, Don't you know ? Perfectly simple.'

" Here is the moment of triumph, so skilfully approached by Gloag, who, bursting out like a thunderbolt, exclaims—

" ' Naw, Mr. Ractor, Sir, its *nott* easy—the thing is impōssible ; its grōss nonsense, Sir ! ' "

Gloag had a playful way, as I remember, when arithmetic was on, and the boys, as soon as they had done a sum, passed rapidly before him showing their slates, of appearing to be in a brown study, and saying, ' Right,' ' Right,' for a number of times without apparently looking at the sum. Probably he knew the answers off by heart, and saw them at a glance ; but every now and then he would seize a slate, rub out the sum with his wetted hand, and order the unfortunate boy to ' cōpy down the first sax sooms on the board, and bring me them to mōrray.' I was never sure whether this was all right, or whether it was not done at random, just to establish a funk. Any how it reminded one of a spider sitting quietly in the centre of his web till a poor fly came near enough.

One scene in Gloag's class, of which I have always had a vivid recollection, is not mentioned in Colonel Fergusson book. A boy—mentioned in the Muster Roll of the class as—St. Croix Minvielle, of the Island of St. Lucia, and to be remembered for his great strength and activity—was possessed of a very powerful nasal organ (an excellent thing in man, I think), and, performing on it one day, in Gloag's class, as if he wished to blow his brains out, Gloag burst out on him thus—

" Hoot, toot, what are ye blawin yer trumpet at in that fawshwn ? If ye did the likes o' that in genteel Society, ye'd be putt to the door ! "

It was a sincere pleasure to all his old pupils, says Colonel Fergusson, when the news reached them that, in 1848, the degree of L.L.D. had been conferred on Mr. Gloag. I remember that we met him at the annual dinners as a loved friend, all soreness connected with the 'Tawse' having by that time been forgotten or forgiven. He retired from the Academy in 1864, and, says Colonel Fergusson, if proof were wanting of the esteem in which he was held, it appears in the fact that, immediately after that date, a medal—called, in his honour, '*The Gloag Medal*,' was established at the Academy, the funds for which were provided by some of *his old pupils*. The medal is open for competition to boys of the 'Seventh' only, and is given for eminence in mathematics. Gloag very rarely, it is believed, was seen at the Academy after his retirement. " On one occasion some one asked him if he often went down to visit the School. ' Naw,' he answered, ' it's nothing but a *hert-brek*.' "

Chapter V of the Chronicles.—"WITH THE RECTOR,"—The Venerable John Williams, M.A., of Baliol College, Oxford; Vicar of Lampeter, and Archdeacon of Cardigan—I must pass by with a few words, but solely for want of space, as—to old Academicians at least—it is very interesting. "The Horatian phrase, '*imperiosius*,' perhaps best describes the impression his grand manner and imposing presence conveyed, except that there was no idea of tyranny." But his ordinary manners and appearance earned for him the *sobriquet* 'Punch:' boys are so irreverent. Nevertheless, Colonel Fergusson, though in a footnote, records this of him:—

"The Rector was imbued with an inexpugnable dignity. On a certain occasion, in the early days of the Academy, 'the Sixth had hunted a sow into the Rector's class-room. The brute took refuge in one of the presses. In rushing out she capsized the Archdeacon on the floor. Peace and an upright position restored, the Rector calmly remarked, 'Boys, our lesson has been—what you call—too long interrupted, let us get on.'"

The 'Ractor' certainly had his peculiarities: "Go Junior, Yis, Yis, Yis," was often heard. "Don't you know the difference between the '*haitch*' and the '*no-haitch*?' he would say, when pitching into a boy for not sounding the aspirate in reading Greek. This aspirating the name of the English letter was amusing to us Scottish boys, who, whatever their sins are, never misplace their "hs." Is it a Welsh, as well as an English peculiarity; or did 'Punch' do it on purpose, for emphasis? I never asked him.

"At the Great Jubilee Dinner of the Edinburgh Academy, in October 1874, when the Archbishop of Canterbury (Archibald Campbell Tait) presided, feeling reference was made to Archdeacon Williams by the Chairman in the course of his eloquent speech, and reminiscences of old Academy days.

"'As a strong man,' said the Archbishop, 'intellectually improved those among whom he lived, so this man taught them in a way that none but a very able man indeed could teach. He had his faults—as who had not? And many might say that these, as he grew older, predominated. He had, indeed, a strong sense of his powers, and he (the speaker) was not sure that he was not right to hold that opinion. He was a man, and a real man, and he taught and fascinated his pupils in a way that none but a man of great intellectual power could do. He (the Archbishop) ministered to him in his last illness, and followed him to his grave.'"

Colonel Fergusson alludes to the Rector's two handsome daughters. A daughter of the Archdeacon is, I believe, still in Calcutta—the head of a well-known educational establishment.

(*To be continued*).

C. W. HOPE.

ART. XI.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BANDEL* CHURCH AT HOOGHLY.

THE Portuguese may have, as Faria y Souza † says, first entered Bengal as military adventurers about the year 1538, ‡ but there is nothing to show that they had made their settlement at Hooghly before the Pathan domination was put an end to by the Moguls. Indeed, that event, as we have already shown, took place somewhere in the eighth decade of the sixteenth century. After Bengal had come under the Mogul sway, Akbar ordered his Viceroy to send up a picked man among the Feringhees to the Presence. Accordingly, a captain of the name of Tavarez went up to Agra § which had been newly made the capital of the empire. He was treated by the Emperor with the utmost kindness, and, as a mark of Imperial favour, was given permission to pitch upon any spot near Hooghly for the erection of a town, with full liberty to build churches and preach the Holy Gospel. Availing themselves of such an unexpected opportunity, the

* The name Bandel appears to be another form of the Persian word *bandur*, the letters l and r being convertible, and to signify a fort, as Hooghly, the *Porte Pequeno* of the Portuguese, was. So also there is a Bandel Church (Le Bondor) at Chittagong, the *Porte Grande* of the Portuguese.

† Manuel Faria y Souza's history of *Asia Portuguesa*, which is in Spanish, commences with 1412 and closes with 1640.

‡ This was the last year of the Portuguese Viceroy of India, Nuno da Cunha. In 1534 he had sent Martin Alfonso with 200 men in five ships to Chittagong with a view to establish friendly relations with the King of Bengal, and to obtain permission to erect a fortress and build a factory at Chittagong. The mission, however, failed, and Martin and some of his men were made prisoners and forwarded to Gour. Antony de Sylva Meneses was then sent by Cunha, with 350 men in nine vessels, to try and effect the ransom of the prisoners. At this time Mahmud Shah, the last of the independent kings, reigned in Bengal. The Portuguese having agreed to assist him against Shere Khan, the King released most of the captives retaining only five as hostages for the succour which was expected from Goa. But when this succour arrived in nine vessels, under the command of Vasco Perez de Sampayo, Shere had taken Gour and Mahmud had been killed. Sampayo came and saw and went away without doing anything. (*The Feringhees of Chittagong* by Mr.—now Justice—Beverley, Calcutta Review, 1871.)

§ Agra (*Agravan* of the Pauranic writers) was a mere village before Akbar's time. He turned it into a splendid city, and graced it with a palace, the largest and most magnificent in the East. The world-renowned Taj is also near Agra. To this newly-built city Akbar removed his capital from Futtehpore Sikri in 1566, calling it after his own name, *Akbarabad*.

Portuguese settled on the lands now occupied by the Church and its surroundings, and built houses for trading and other purposes.* As the province was then anything but peaceable, and as disturbances were always apprehended, the new settlers deemed it absolutely necessary to fortify their settlement. The requisite sanction being given by the Mogul Governor, they built a fort † in the place now called Gholeghat. It was of a square form, flanked by four bastions and surrounded by a deep ditch on three sides and by the deeper river on the fourth. This must have been done before 1585, inasmuch as the well-known traveller, Fitch, who visited Hooghly in that year, described it as "the chief keep of the Portuguese." As the Portuguese went on prospering in their new settlement, the missionaries of the order of St. Augustine came to Hooghly and founded, in the year 1599, ‡ the Convent of Bandel, the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, and the Church of Misericordia, to which was attached an orphan-house for the protection of young ladies. Merchants and others, whom business or enterprise called to distant parts, committed their maiden daughters, in their absence, to sacerdotal protection in the orphanage of the Church of Misericordia. These sacred edifices were frequented by a large body of worshippers, and thus Hooghly became a place of great importance from a secular, as well as from a religious point of view.

The Portuguese drove a brisk trade, and their fame as master

* The *Shah Jehan-namah* states that the Portuguese, purchasing some lands in Hooghly, built houses thereon with the permission of the Nabob.

† Purchas, speaking of the Portuguese settlements in Bengal, writes :— "The Portuguese have here Porte Grande and Porte Pequeno, but without forts and Governments; every man living after his own lust, and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better Government for some wickedness by them committed." But the historian does not appear to be quite correct in his statements, for the Portuguese had built a fort at Porte Pequeno (Hooghly) in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, whilst the first volume of his *Relations of the World* was published in 1864 in the reign of James I.

‡ This is certainly a memorable year, as in it the East India Company was formed, and the Dutch first traded to the Moluccas. But not only from a commercial, but also from a religious point of view, it is kept in remembrance, for in it the furious bigot, Archbishop Alexis de Menezes, held his famous, or rather infamous, Synod at Diamper or Udayampura, entirely effacing the individuality of the Syrian Church in India. The efforts which culminated in that Synod had their origin in the full fervour of missionary enterprise which set in after the time of St. Francis Xavier, and which was directed towards stamping out the peculiarities of the Syrian Christians, and bringing their doctrines into harmony with those practised by the Catholic Church in Europe. St. Xavier came out with the Governor of Portuguese India, Martin Alfonso de Souza, and arrived at Goa on the 7th May 1542. He was the recognised head of the Jesuits of India. He lies buried in New Goa, and his tomb is certainly, as Bishop Wilson has said, "a great curiosity."

merchants spread far and wide. In the meantime the great Akbar was summoned from this world by the mightiest of monarchs, and was succeeded by his son Jehangir. The latter, though undoubtedly much inferior to his father in wisdom and ability, was not an intolerant prince. So far from molesting the Portuguese, he bore kindly feelings towards them. The French traveller Bernier * states, "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Hooghly upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates." † In this way the Portuguese gradually rose to be a power in the land. They acquired lands on both sides of the river, and collected the rents, or rather revenues thereof after the manner of princes. Their fort at Hooghly was well garrisoned, and they had also a sufficient number of war-vessels always ready to protect them from the attacks of the enemy. Though nominally subject to the Great Mogul, they often assumed an air of independence, and were certainly not very regular in the payment of tribute due to the Paramount Power. At this time, however, an event happened which had the effect of undermining their power and prosperity in Bengal. The Empress, Nur Jehan, who had absolute control over the pleasure-loving Emperor Jehangir, and

"—whose lightest whisper moved him more
Than all the ranged reasons of the world,"

having shown herself hostile to the interest of the Heir Apparent, the latter revolted, and, being pursued by the Imperial army, fled to Bengal and stationed himself at Burdwan. While at this place, he asked for some assistance from the Portuguese Governor of Hooghly, Michael Rodriguez, who had waited upon him; but his request was not complied with. This refusal, polite though it was, so

"Rankled in him and ruffled all his heart,"

that, after ascending the throne, he made it a point to drive the Portuguese out of Bengal. Accordingly, he directed his Viceroy to watch their movements with the eye of a spy, and to lodge complaints before him, if in any matter they overstepped

* Bernier resided in India for twelve years from 1657 to 1669. The greater part of his residence was spent at the court of Aurungzeb, whose camp he followed in 1665 from Delhi to Cashmere, through the entire length of the Punjab. He was a physician by profession.

† In the time of the early Mogul Emperors, the Bay of Bengal was infested with Mughls and Portuguese, who lived by "levying *chout* on the seas" as that arch-pirate, Angria of the Malabar Coast used to say of his dreaded sea robbery.

the bounds of law and justice. The result of this well-laid plan was the siege and capture of Hooghly in 1632. The fort was demolished, so also the Churches, but it would seem that the Convent did not suffer much, if at all. The Governor and a large number of Christian captives were dragged to the Imperial residence at Agra, where they were very harshly treated. Excepting the five Augustine Friars, the rest of the prisoners of war were distributed as slaves amongst the grandees of the Court. The monks were more cruelly dealt with. Four of them were immediately put to death, and the fifth, Padre * da Cruz was reserved for a severer punishment, for which a day was appointed. When that dreaded day dawned, the Emperor, forgetting his usual good nature, ordered him, in the spirit of a Nero, to be cast under the feet of a furious elephant. But, wonderful to relate, the burly brute, moved at the sight of the holy man, lost his native ferocity, and commenced caressing him gently with his "little proboscis." The Emperor was taken quite unawares, and, seized with religious awe, at once determined on the Padre's pardon, and also offered to grant any reasonable request he might make. The good Augustinian solicited his own liberty, with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal, and also a grant of some rent-free lands as an endowment to the Bandel Church. Both the requests were readily granted by the awe-struck Emperor, and thus some amends were made for the immense loss which the Portuguese had sustained at his hands.

The grant, thus made in 1633,† covered an area of 777 bighas of land. By the *firman* which was granted on this occasion, the Portuguese were given permission to found churches, and the friars were exempted from the authority of the Fouzdar and other officers of Government. Within the precincts of that small tract they were allowed to exercise all magisterial powers with regard to the Christians, save and except the strictly royal prerogative of life and death. They were, at the same time, exempted from all taxes and tolls. This little bit of a principality, as one might say so, appears to have included all the foreshore from the present jail to the northern limit of the circuit-house compound. There is a small piece of a very old wall still remaining on the extreme east of the Hooghly-bridge yard, which is said to be the re-

* Padre is a Portuguese word signifying a priest, a missionary. It has a close affinity to the Sanscrit *pitara*, Latin *pater*, and English *father*. Several other words which are in common use in Bengal are also of Portuguese origin, such as *chabi* (Port. *chave*) a key; *kobi* (Port. *quove*) cabbage; *grija* (Port. *igreja*), a church; *fitah*. (Port. *fitá*) a ribbon; *caste* (Port. *casta*, breed) a class; *nilam* (Port. *leilam*) an auction.

† This grant was confirmed in 1646.

mains of the Portuguese fort. The *Kuti-pukur* or the factory tank, which is at the south-west corner of the jail, was, it is believed, attached to the Portuguese factory, as in later times it certainly was to the English factory. Much of the land so granted was, however, lost during the times of the hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorshidabad, and the area has now dwindled down to about 380 bighas, yielding a rental of about 1240.*

The Convent of Bandel, which is dedicated to the *Virgin Mary of Rosary*,† is the only building which remains to tell the sad tale of Lusitanian grandeur at Hooghly. It is the oldest Christian building in Bengal. Eight years after the siege of Hooghly, it was pulled down, and all the records that were preserved in it were destroyed. In 1661 it was rebuilt by that pious Christian, J. Gomes de Soto, and, as if to wipe out all marks of Mogul outrage, the new building was inscribed with the date of the old. In the nice little chapel which forms one side of the Convent, there is an inscription which shows that "the chapel was privileged for Saturdays by the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XII. in 1726." The vault below contains the remains of Soto and his family, as well as of some other fortunate Catholics.

The Augustinians of Bandel hail from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of Meliapore,‡ not to the Vicar Apostolic. The Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have never recognized the ecclesiastical authority of the Pope of Rome.§ The Court of Portugal, ever since the first establishment of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage, and has viewed with great jealousy any interference with it.|| But it is very much

* Besides property in lands, which are all leased to ryots, there are, as the present Prior says, other sources of income. But he is not aware of the net annual proceeds, nor of the amount of expenditure.

† Convent De Nossa Senhora De Rozario of Bandel.

‡ Meliapore (probably *Malayapuram*) was erected into a Bishopric in 1607. It is now known as St. Thomas.

§ The Padroado was granted by the Pope to the King of Portugal in the days of Portuguese supremacy in the East. But now that Portugal is only a petty Indian Power, the great majority of the Catholic Missionaries and Catholic converts who reside in British India, resent the claim of the Portuguese to this right of patronage to all bishoprics and benefices in India. The Portuguese cling to the right of the Padroado as a relic of their ancient greatness, while the Popes sympathise with the attitude taken up by the majority of Indian Catholics. After many fruitless attempts at an amicable settlement of the question, Concordats were signed between the two parties, first in 1856, and afterwards in 1886, which have had the effect of placing the Catholic Church in India, outside the sphere of Portuguese territory, under the direct rule of the Pope. This dispute about Padroado has been a great obstacle to the progress of the Catholic Church in India.

|| The present Prior of Bandel, the Rev. De Silva Furtado, however, informs us that the reigning King of Portugal, Don Carlos De Braganza, is on friendly terms with the Pope, and is in spiritual communion with him, as the head of the Catholic Church. He also states that year before last His Holiness made a handsome present to the Queen of Portugal.

to be regretted that it has not been equally careful in making a proper use of that privilege. The priests appointed by Government as a rule, not only were ignorant, but also bore a bad character. "Buried in debauch," as they were, they were studious of their own ease rather than of the good of their spiritual charge. At any rate, they have never been highly spoken of for purity of morals. Captain Alexander Hamilton* thus wrote about Bandel:—"The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a Church, where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt; and a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods." Thus the profligacy of the Bandel priests seems to have equalled what is told of the corruption among European ecclesiastics in the Middle Ages, and their ignorance was equal to their licentiousness. Nothing was more common than to see high ecclesiastical offices conferred on men as amorous as Sybarites and as ignorant as Boestians.† The church Government is still with the King, and, judging from the lax and careless way in which it is sometimes administered, it would seem that the cause of morals and letters would not suffer much by its being taken out of his hands and placed in those of the Pope. Attached to the Convent there was a Nunnery in which many dark deeds were done, over which a thick impervious veil has been cast.‡ Mention is made in 1723 of a College of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keota. Georgi stated that the Christian religion and learning flourished in Hooghly under the auspices of the King of Portugal, and that the hospice of Bandel was as much crowded with monks as its schools were with native converts. But these statements must be received with considerable modifications, for, as a

* Hamilton traded in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723. He wrote his *Account of the East Indies* about the year 1690, when Bandel was "chockful of pretty women." De Foe's well-known lines apply with full force to the state of the Bandel Church at that time:—

"Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
The Devil always builds a chapel there,
And 'twill be found upon examination
The latter has the largest congregation."

† The distinguished writer of the Article, "The Feringhees of Chittagong," to which we have already referred, very justly observes: "The general neglect of education among the Feringhees was chiefly owing to the character of the priests sent from Goa. These half-caste men, renowned for their superstition, ignorance, and selfishness, brought discredit on their profession." What was true of the Bandel at Chittagong was more than true of the Bandel at Hooghly.

‡ This has unfortunately been the case with almost all nunneries. Though the nuns are closed about by high narrowing walls, and are kept afar from the world and all its lights and shadows, they are seldom found "to lead sweet lives in purest chastity." Nothing has contributed so much to immorality as the unholy vow of celibacy.

matter of fact, neither the cause of religion nor that of education was much advanced.

In 1760, this place suffered much from the calamities which were brought about by hostilities between the English and the Nabob of Moorshedabad, and, as a matter of necessary consequence, it was denuded of most of its inhabitants. The state of things precipitated from bad to worse, so that when, in the first half of the present century, the author of the *Sketches of Bengal* wrote his valuable work, he found that Hooghly had well-nigh reached its last stage of ruin. He says: "The ancient and famous port of Hooghly contains now but a few small houses, and several poor huts. The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins. When Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground." The sight of the Convent, however, impressed him considerably, and he could not avoid recording, that the frontispiece of the sacred edifice "appeared to him to diffuse a cathedral gloom, and struck him with religious awe.*"

The Bandel Church† does not deserve to be called a grand building, but its architectural skill lies in its very strong and durable structure. Though nearly three long centuries have spent their elemental rage and fury over it, still it looks as fresh as if it had been built only recently. The Church faces towards the south, and is entered by a big gate, which is kept open only on service days and other important occasions. It has three "long-drawn aisles," which terminate in three handsome altars, of which the one in the middle is the most splendid. At the other extremity, over the entrance, there is a big organ, which none—but the initiated may touch. Service takes place before the midmost altar, when the burning censer and the sounding organ add much to the sacredness and solemnity of the occasion. In front of that altar, at a distance, rises, under the support of the left wall, the winding pulpit, which attracts the sight by its gorgeous appearance. One of the side altars is very properly dedicated to the patron Saint Augustine, who seems to exercise a greater influence over the priests of Bandel than St. Veronique, the favourite Saint of the Portuguese. A spacious hall was built about a

* In 1829, the number of Christian inhabitants of eighteen years of age and more was only thirty in Bandel. (Toynbee's *Hooghly*, p. 141). At the present day the number is still smaller.

† Bishop Heber visited Hooghly in June 1824. He thus speaks of this Church in his well-known Journal: "At Chinsura is a Church, and beyond Hooghly, at a place, I believe, named Banda, is a large Italian-looking Church, with what appears to be a Convent." Vol. I, p. 64. Most probably the good Bishop did not enter the Church, otherwise he would have given some account of its sacred interior.

quarter of a century ago at the expense of Mr. Barretto * and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta. It was intended to serve as a sanatorium for invalids. The building, as a whole, is a quadrangle, one side of which forms the chapel. It has three gates, of which the one on the east, which faces the ever-receding river, is now the main entrance, though that honour is justly due to the big gate on the south, which, as we have already related, is opened only on service days and other important occasions. The west gate, which skirts the public road, is seldom unbolted. The Bandel Church, though itself a branch of a bigger establishment, has a branch of its own in the neat Catholic Chapel at Chinsura. This sacred building, as the tablet on it shows, was erected in 1740 with the funds left by the well-known Mrs. Sebastian Shaw, † and is dedicated to Jesus Maria Joze.

At one time the Bandel missionaries possessed considerable power and influence ; but, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had well-nigh become a thing of the past, and they regrettingly found themselves absorbed into the general mass of British subjects. In 1797, the then Prior of Bandel memorialised Sir John Shore's Government with a view to having independent civil and criminal jurisdiction over the ryots of the Bandel lands restored to him. He based his claim on immemorial usage from the date of the original grant by Shah Jehan in 1633, and also on a certain letter from a high authority, dated the 17th July 1787, in which the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel. But the Governor-General decided against him. His Excellency held that no such claim could now be admitted, and that, "the inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the juris-

* The famous Barretto family came very early to Asia. Both F. Barretto and A. M. Barretto were Governors of Portuguese India in the second half of the sixteenth century. The celebrated Barretto brothers, Joseph and Louis, who were the recognised heads of the Portuguese in the metropolis of British India, have immortalized themselves by several pious acts. The new church at Calcutta and the Roman Catholic Church at Serampore are standing proofs of their piety and liberality. The Portuguese burial-ground at Baitakhana was the gift of Mr. Joseph Barretto, who purchased it for Rs. 8,000 in 1785. At Sukhsagar a neat domestic chapel was built, in 1789, by the family, at a cost of Rs. 9,000. This fine building has since been washed away by the Hooghly, on the banks of which it stood. The Barrettos have done so many good acts in Bengal that they are not likely to be forgotten. Surely the censure of the poet does not apply to them :—

"Doing good
Disinterested good, is not our trade,
We travel far 'its true, but not for nought."

† This pious Lady was a native of Chinsura, where she died in 1725. Not far from the chapel built with her money is St. John's church, which was founded by the celebrated Markar family in 1695-97, and is the oldest church the Armenians have in Bengal. The building was begun by Markar Johannes, a famous merchant, and was completed by his brother Joseph. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1697.

diction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces ;" but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel, as heretofore, whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose." Thus the question of jurisdiction was set at rest by the highest authority in the land, and one would have expected that thereafter the church dignitaries would quietly abide by the decision. But it does not appear that the Priors always demeaned themselves as peace-loving and law-abiding subjects. In June 1828, the then Prior, the Rev. F. A. Guia, was proceeded against in the Company's Court, in consequence of his having wantonly assaulted two natives. A summons was issued against him in the usual course, but, so far from obeying it, he behaved in an "extremely indecent, violent, and illegal" manner. He was, accordingly, reported to Government, and it is very likely that he got a severe reprimand at its hands. This censure, well-deserved as it undoubtedly was, had a very wholesome effect not only upon the individual for whom it was intended, but also upon his successors in the Priory. In 1869 we find the Rev. Augustine Gomes in charge of the Church. He was a good man, and so was his successor, the Rev. A. C. Rodriguez. The latter tried to retrieve the reputation of the Portuguese as promoters of the cause of education, and established the present Bandel School on the 10th July 1870. This little Institution prospered under his parental care, and its successful working induced the English Government, in 1874, to allow a grant of Rs. 20 a month. The grant is still continued, and, together with the Mission allowance of Rs. 10, makes up nearly one-third of the establishment charges of the School, the remainder being supplied from schooling fees. The School teaches up to the minor scholarship course, and the teaching staff consists of three English teachers and two pundits. The Rev. A. C. Rodriguez was succeeded by the Rev. D. Sante Maria, and the latter by the Rev. G. A. Britto. On the death of Britto, which took place on the 7th July 1891, the Rev. J. Beatly, the present incumbent's predecessor, was appointed Prior. Though not in charge of the church for a long time, his knowledge of Hooghly was much above average. The Rev. Da Silva Furtado has been in charge for nearly two years. He possesses considerable ability and has been discharging the duties of his sacred office well. He is a quiet sort of man, as becomes a Christian of his Order, and, what is rare among monks and friars, bears a pure and unspotted character. The Prior gets nothing from the English Government. He is paid by the Portuguese Mission, and he has also other sources of income, the principal of which

consists of presents from Roman Catholics on marriage and such like occasions.

Four solemnities are principally observed in the Bandel Church, namely, the Feast of the Blessed Lady * of Happy Voyage in the "merry month of May"; the Feast of the Patron Saint Augustine† in the imperial month of August; the Feast of the Blessed Lady of Rosary, commonly called the Novena, in the cold month of November; and the Feast of Domingo da Cruz, in the hot month of February or March. The first solemnity mentioned above is not of much importance; but it must not be confounded with the Feast of the Assumption which is observed on the 15th August, on which day, Virgin Mary, the reputed Mother of Jesus Christ, is believed to have miraculously ascended to Heaven without passing through the gate of death. Augustine being the patron Saint of the monks of Bandel, his feast is observed with considerable pomp in the memorable month in which he, having done his work here below on earth, found supreme happiness in

* A statue of this Lady, with the infant Jesus in her lap, is placed in a niche in the triangular form, which is raised on an elevated surface in front of the church.

† St. Augustine is one of the Great Fathers of the Catholic Church. He was born at Tagaste, in Northern Africa, on the 13th November, 354 A. D. His father was a heathen, quite regardless of religion and morality; but his mother, Monica, was an exemplary Christian. Young Augustine began life as a heretical debauchee; but the sermons of St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, backed by the constant prayer of his mother, effected his reform, and he was baptised in 387 A. D. After the death of his mother he returned to Africa, where, in 395, he was appointed Bishop of Hippo, an important seaport, the site of which is now covered by the city of Bona. At Hippo he laboured for 35 years, and, while it was in the forcible possession of the Vandals, who had invaded Africa under their King, Genseric, in 428, he died in the full possession of his faculties on the 28th August 430 in the 76th year of his age. After his death the people, hard pressed by the Vandals, escaped by sea, and the town was burnt to the ground by those furious savages.

The writings of Augustine, which have always been held in high veneration by the Roman Catholics, form the basis of that system which is commonly called scholastic divinity. His *Confessions*, which gives a plain unvarnished account of his infancy to the death of his mother, has been with Thomas-a-Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, one of the three most popular Christian books in the world. Another great work of Augustine's is *On the Holy Trinity*, which explains very clearly and learnedly one of the peculiar doctrines, if not the main doctrine, of Christianity. But his greatest single work is the *City of God*, in 22 books, which occupied him thirteen years. The object was to defend the Christians and the Christian Church from the charge made against them, that the calamities which befell the Empire, and the sacking of Rome by the Goths, originated in Christianity.

The old Bandel Church was built under the protection of this Saint, and his altar very properly graces one of the halls of the present Church. The following pregnant saying is attributed to him: "Thou hast made us for thyself, and our heart is restless until it find rest in Thee."

There is an order of monks, who call themselves the hermits of St. Augustine. They are mendicants and live by begging alms. But some of them have thrown up the bowl for the sword. Conspicuous amongst these stands that notorious Prior Fra Joan, who, as Bernier says, domineered over Sundeep (*Sawndwip*) for several years, after having killed the commandant of the place.

sweet communion with his Maker in Heaven, realizing the words of the poet—

“ Man’s sickly soul, though turned and tossed for ever
From side to side, can rest on nought but thee;
Here in full *trust*, hereafter in full *joy*.”

But the Feast of the Novena is the grandest of the festivals which are observed in the Bandel Church; and this is as it should be, for the church is dedicated to the Blessed Lady of Rosary, in whose honour the feast is celebrated. On this important occasion the church is brilliantly illuminated, and divine service is performed with the accompaniment of music, which adds much to the sacred solemnity of the occasion. After service fireworks of divers sorts are let off which, like a flourish of trumpets, wind up the ceremony. Visitors flock to the spot from Calcutta, Chandernagore, and some other places, and the scene assumes a most splendid appearance. The pyrotechnic exhibition and the solemn peal of the organ, with its “winding bout of linked sweetness” have such a fascination for the common people, that the numbers that assemble on the occasion are very considerable. Sight-seers and others leave the place in the course of the night, so that, when the day dawns, one finds it difficult to realise that it has only a few hours before been the scene of such rejoicings.

The last, though not the least, is the Feast of Domingo da Cruz. This is a peculiar ceremony with the Portuguese, and is as rigidly observed by them as the *Rosa* is by the Mahomedans. On this occasion a procession representing the Saviour bearing the cross is formed on a Sunday in Lent, which makes the circuit of the entire quarter. The name of this ceremony reminds one of that very remarkable Friar, Padre da Cruz, who, by his miraculous encounter with the royal elephant gained the favour of the Great Mogul, Shah Jehan, and with his permission conducted the Christian captives back to Bengal.

Bandel is not what it was in bygone times. “Stern ruin has driven her ploughshare” hard over it. It has lost all its former pomp and magnificence, and stands as a sad and sorry relic, reminding one of the mutability of all mundane things. The very sight of the place amply testifies to its ancient grandeur. Indeed, at one time, it teemed with a gay stream of population in which the gaudy train of beauty shone the brightest. The present inhabitants of Bandel might be counted on one’s fingers, and the sad loneliness of the locality offers a striking contrast to the sweet liveliness with which it was pregnant even at the beginning of the present century.

Save and except the church, which rears its hoary head in solitary gloom, a few broken walls, overgrown with bushes and

brambles, are all the "splendid wrecks" which remain to tell the painful tale of its former pride and populousness. From a splendid town Bandel has dwindled down into a sorry village of the lowest type possible. Even the very river, which forty years before laved the church foundations with its sweet waters, as if afraid to catch the contagion of the surrounding desolation, has receded considerably to the east, leaving a large space of dry land, which was one vast sheet of water, displaying a hundred gorgeous sail. But Bandel does not stand unique in this respect; this has also been the case with all the Portuguese settlements in India, now that their power in the East has fallen so very low. Bishop Wilson visited New Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese India, on the 6th December 1835, and this is how he has described it in his Journal: "The Portuguese, for one hundred and fifty years the great European power in India, is silent in darkness, and the 'Beast,' which enjoyed her protection, expiring. Instead of two thousand priests, whose licentiousness was proverbial, there are now fifty, or even fewer stragglers. Immense masses of building crumbling daily, and some positively without a single monk. The nunnery alone remains, and that is to receive no more inmates. The Abbess has never been without its walls for forty-five years. One sweet-looking pupil attended her at the *grille*, downcast as a flower doomed to fade. The nuns we could not see." The reason why the good Bishop could not see them is, however, not far to seek; for, as a matter of fact, nuns there were very few, if any. Similar fate has befallen the Convent of Bandel: it, too, is bare of its inmates. Indeed, the place looks like

"a thing
O'er which the raven flaps his funeral wing."

SHUMBHOO CHUNDRA DEY.

ART. XII.—PRATAPGAD FORT, AND THE
MAHRATTA VERSION OF THE DEATH
OF AFZAL KHAN, BY SHIVAJI.

IN the course of a visit to the Great Mahratta fortresses I had to see Pratapgad, which is rendered famous by the bloody episode of Afzal Khan's death. I was struck by the great discrepancy between the story found in Grant Duff and all English books, and the version of it given in Mahratta *bakhars* and universally current among the people. In this paper I have tried to represent this latter view by the side of the former, as, for historic truth, it is necessary that both sides should be stated, and the other side not passed over in contemptuous silence as is done by Duff and all who follow him.

For the internal defence of the country Shivaji, as is well known, had provided by a very skilfully planned chain of fortresses which play a very important part in the history of his people. "Regular fortifications," says Orme, "well armed and garrisoned, barred the opener approaches; every pass was commanded by forts; and, in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is said that he left 350 of these posts in the Konkan alone." (*Historical Fragments*, p. 93.) Of all these hill forts with which the Konkan and the Deccan are studded, probably the most famous is Pratapgad, connected as it is with the well-known episode of Afzal Khan's death at the hands of Shivaji, and the consequent rise in the great Mahratta Chief's fortunes. From all the western "points" of Mahableshwar, it forms a prominent feature in the distant landscape, appearing to its best advantage from the lofty picturesque tongue of land rising abruptly from the Koyna valley, known as Lodwick, or Sydney Point. Thence, being right in front of it, it looks like Noah's Ark resting on Mount Ararat, with its square, solid and massive top lined by the encircling fortifications, resting on wide expanding rocks spurring a way into the valleys below, that of the Koyna to the east and that of the Savitri to the north. It is easily reached from Mahableshwar by the Fitzgerald Pass road, which leads from these hills through Mahad and Dasgaon, along the banks of the Savitri, in the Konkan, to the sea at Bankot. The first eight miles of this road, which descends in a slow winding curve, through thick woods, along the edge of the hill between Sydney and Bombay Points, into the valley 2,000 feet below, bring us to the well-furnished and comfort-

able bungalow at Vada, at the foot of Pratapgadh. Thence, by a fair ascent through a pretty dense wood, the fort is reached, and we set foot on the historic ground of Shivaji's most famous fortress. Nowhere does the *pax Britannica* now reigning universally in the land, strike one so forcibly as in these once terrible forts, now either dismantled or rendered harmless by thorough blasting, and visited at intervals only by the historical tourist, who, taking his stand on a broken arch here or a grass-grown bastion there, tries to realise the dreadful times when the Mahrattas were a power in these parts, and their name struck terror wherever sounded; when these forts were the scourge of the country around, the source of cruel raids which swept away, in their merciless career, men, beasts, and vegetation alike. The Mahrattas have left behind them no such famous monuments of their greatness as the gigantic Buddhist topes and beautiful Hindoo temples of antiquity, the wonderful architectural buildings and columns of their Mogul predecessors, or the more useful but equally wonderful public works of their English successors. Like their contemporaries, the Portuguese, the only relics of their former power and supremacy are their great fortresses, which are mostly, if not entirely, hill-forts, owing to the genius of the people, and the force of circumstances, as those of the former were all sea-forts (if the term can be used), on account of the maritime genius of that nation. Forts were, in past times in India, the chief instruments of war, owing to the peculiar nature of the warfare of the times. With the establishment of the English as the paramount power in the land, they have ceased to be of use, as the hostile strength that could be supplied to them has been cut off at its source. But in the event of the central power relaxing or breaking down, there is every likelihood of these fortresses renewing their former warlike existence, and swarming anew with marauders.

Pratapgad was one of Shivaji's early forts, built for him by his trusted lieutenant, More Trimal Pingli in 1656. Its position attests the great sagacity of the great "Mountain Rat," as he was contemptuously called by his enemy, Aurangzeb, who, however, had to acknowledge the great ability and organising sagacity of his foe. "Mountain Rat" he certainly was, knowing every nook and corner of this mountainous country, and how to turn his knowledge to the best account. This fortress stands on the brow of the Deccan, commanding on all sides a very important country. On the south it overlooks the Par Pass, the old high road leading from the Deccan into the Konkan, and the only good outlet from the interior. To the north it guards the source of the Savitri and the Krishna, two rivers that rise a few miles off, near the Mahableshwar temples.

To the east flows the Koyna, past the Mahableshwar hills on to Satara; and its banks are protected by this fort. To the west stretches away an undulating hilly tract, joining the Konkan and sloping to the sea sixty miles off. Pratapgad is to the extreme north of a range of hills which extend far into the interior, and of which Makrangadh, the hill known as the saddle-back to the visitors of Mahableshwar, and Choragadh, are other prominent peaks. But there is no important pass between any of these hills, which, indeed, are almost impassable, and the only outlet is the Par Pass between this fort and the rest of the range. Shivaji thus pitched upon this high commanding rock to secure access to his territories on the Nira and the Koyna, and to strengthen the defences of this important pass. The fortification consists of a double wall, encircling the top of the hill, one wall below the other, thus forming a lower and an upper fort, with a long outwork projecting from the eastern gate of the lower fort, and ending in a high round bastion called Abdalla's tower, from the head of the famous Abdalla, or Afzul Khan, killed below, being buried in it. The walls, which are nowhere very thick or high, follow the lie of the ground in zigzag lines, rising in one place and falling in another. Both the forts have bastions on all the four sides, commanding all the approaches. In the lower fort is the temple of Bhowani, the patron goddess of Shivaji and his family, who inspired him throughout his career. It is an unattractive, old, gloomy-looking building, with a black stone image of the goddess in a dark cell, the scene being quite in keeping with the bloody deeds in the Mahratta Chief's career connected with this Bhowani Mata.

The upper fort, which is called Bala Killa, contains smaller temples of Mahadev and Maruti, and a small building, a few feet square, which is pointed out as Shivaji's house. One can well imagine, standing in this grass-grown, roofless shed, how, two hundred and thirty-five years ago, Shivaji must have passed sleepless nights here, contemplating the utter ruin of his power that was planned by the Bijapore court, with the enormous army of its great General encamped in the plain and valley in the distance, whose camp fires he could clearly descry, and whose fanfare of trumpets fell on his listless ears as he lay here revolving his daring and unscrupulous projects of defence in his mind. We must now describe shortly this great event, for ever connected with Pratapgad and renowned in Mahratta history.

Within three years after the building of Pratapgad, the Bijapore authorities determined to crush with a great effort the rising power of their rebellious subject, Shivaji. A large army of 5,000 horse and 7,000 foot, with artillery and other

supplies, marched from Bijapore under the ill-fated Afzul Khan, and, after various stages, encamped in the valley of the Koyna between Mahableshwar and Pratapgad. Shivaji entrenched himself in the latter fort, and, knowing the hopelessness of meeting such a large and well-appointed army in open battle, meditated how best to overcome his adversary by stratagem. He feigned submission and sent humble messages to Afzul, requesting him to depute some men to receive his homage and settle the terms of peace. The Mahomedan General, who seems to have been of a frank nature, totally unsuited to meet Mahratta diplomacy, sent a Brahmin in his service, Gopinath Pant, to settle the affair with Shivaji. The Brahmin, who was won over by religious scruples as well as promises of a *jagir* by the crafty Mahratta, who disclosed to him his plan of overcoming the Mahomedan foe, Afzul, was to be inveigled to an interview, alone and unarmed, and to be murdered, and his army demoralised by its Chief's sudden death, was to be surprised and cut down. The Brahmin easily persuaded his confiding Chief to go unarmed and with a single attendant to the foot of the fortress, where Shivaji was to meet him in the same state and surrender in person. The army was to be kept at a distance, as no fight was expected, and the whole thing was to end in peace and order, and the great Mahratta plague was to end for ever. Afzul Khan, dressed in a plain white muslin garment, with nothing but a sword by his side, advanced in a palanquin to the place of interview. Shivaji prepared himself in a characteristic manner for the critical occasion. After bathing and worshipping and receiving the blessings of his mother, he put on his steel armour concealed under the cotton gown, hid a dagger in his right sleeve, and under the fingers of the left hand held the treacherous weapon, shaped like the tiger's claws, famous among the Mahrattas as the *wagnakha*. Thus prepared, he slowly descended the fortress, and, after much hesitation and slouching, came in sight of Afzul, who advanced alone to meet him with the customary embrace. No sooner was the spare form of Shivaji in the arms of the huge Mahomedan, than the treacherous *wagnakha* was plunged into his side, and the dagger did the rest. The Mahratta soldiers, who had been kept in ambush in the woods, came out and surprised the escort which was at a distance. The Bijapore army, quite demoralised, as was expected, by this sudden stroke of treachery, was paralysed and surrendered in disorder and confusion. The vast horde of cavalry, infantry, and artillery melted away before this daring stroke, and Shivaji became master of the situation. The dead body of Afzul, with its head cut off, was buried on a southern spur of the hill, and the plain tomb,

built of chūnam, is still to be seen under a miserable shed, a little to the left of the road leading to the top. The head was taken to the fort, and buried under the bastion which Shivaji is said to have built after this event, and rather cynically to have called Abdalla's tower, after the over-confident Mahomedan General's name who lies in it.

This is the ordinary version of the episode given by historians like Grant-Duff, and the one to be found in that excellent guide and historical tourist's companion, the *Bombay Gazetteer*. It is based on the great Mahomedan historian of Aurangzebe, Muhammad Hashim, better known as Khafi Khan, who writes with a strong and evident bias against the great Hindoo Chief, but who has been followed almost implicitly by every European writer. "The truculent rebel," says Khafi Khan, "knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful Brahmans made an agreement that Shivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khan at a certain place under his fortress, with only three or four servants, and entirely without arms The designing rascal, by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khan, who fell into the snare, believing his false, deceiving statements, and observing none of the caution which the wise commend. Without arms, he mounted the *palki* and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms, and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants, who had accompanied Afzal Khan's litter, should move further off. Shivaji had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhni *bichua*, on the fingers of his hand, hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, 'I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon; the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers.' He had given orders to his troops also that, as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khan, and do their best to attain success. Afzul Khan, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place,

was confident in his own courage, and saw Shivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khan, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Shivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, killing, plundering, and destroying. The blood-thirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops . . . Fortune so favoured this treacherous, worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day." (Elliot and Dowson, History of India, Vol. VII., p. 251.) The strong bias of this varnished dramatic account is patent, and it is hard that it could have been accepted without scrutiny by any historian.

By the side of this account there is another written at about the same time by the celebrated Englishman, Dr. Fryer, who was in India from 1672-81, and was, therefore, a contemporary of Shivaji:—"Abdool Khan, an experienced soldier, was outwitted by Shivaji. For he, understanding of his having taken the field, while the main body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing messages, intimating withal if he would stop his march, at an appointed *choultry* out of sight of such rendezvous, he would meet him and kiss his feet; begging that he would act the obliging office of peace-maker between him and the King. Abdool Khan, thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his friends (whether out of superstition, as the dying of an elephant and other bad presaging omens, or they doubting the integrity of Shivaji, I know not), but they could not prevail. At the day prefixed, therefore, he takes with him his son and a selected number, which he credited would not be outequaled by Shivaji upon his former protestations and hopes of reconciliation; but the perfidious man had placed an ambuscade, and with a smaller show in appearance than Abdool brought, waits his coming, who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his advocate to procure it. Going to enter the *choultry* together, he cries out like a fearful man, that his lord (so he styled the General) might

execute his pleasure on him, and ease him of his life, which Abdool Khan surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly alarmed, delivered his sword and poniard to his page, and bade him enter with courage, where after some parley he slips a stiletto from under his coat sleeve, and then eyeing his blow, struck it at his heart, whereat the signal was given, and his men came forth, in which scuffle Abdool's son gave Shivaji a wound, but was forced to change habit with a *frass* immediately; and, venturing through untrodden paths, hardly escaped to the camp, who thereupon were so discomfited that they quickly dispersed themselves and left the field open to Shivaji.* This account, with its embellishments, must have been taken up by Fryer from hearsay, and is of a piece with the other wonderful and absurd things he recounts of the Mahrattas. Moreover, the English then bore no good-will to them, as they were greatly harassed by Shivaji, whom they dreaded and detested. Other contemporary authorities, like Manucci-Catrou and Dellon, write in the same strain: and later writers follow them. Even the judicious Orme, justly called the Thucydides of Indian History, who wrote about Shivaji in his *Historical Fragments* in 1782, and takes, on the whole, a very high view of his character, briefly says: "He seduced the Commander Abdool to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand; it is said, by a device which, if practicable, could not be suspected; on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the General's son, who escaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed" (p. 7, ed. 1805). Jonathan Scott, writing a few years later in 1794, in his *History of the Deccan*, based on Ferishta and other Mahomedan authors, tells the same story: "Shivaji with artful policy now wrote to the General imploring pardon for his crimes and inviting him to come and receive his submission. Abdoolla advanced without opposition near the residence of the rebel, and it was agreed that he should repair to a tent with ten followers, where Shivaji would meet him with only five attendants. They met, accordingly, when the treacherous zemindar stabbed Abdoolla in embracing him." (*History of the Deccan*, Vol. II., p. 8.) Scott Waring, in his *History of the Mahrattas*, written in 1810, gives the same, with a word for the Mahratta Chief, as we shall see presently. Grant Duff followed him in 1826 with the story, whose history we have traced just now, and he has stereotyped it, as it were, for every writer who has followed him, to our own days, quotes bodily from him. Even the excellent volume of Mr. Lane Poole on Aurangzeb, published a few months ago, gives this traditional account without criticism.

* *New Account of the East Indies*, p. 64.

But the Mahrattas have, from the first, given their own account of this episode, which differs entirely from what we have seen to be the Mahomedan and European view. It occurs in prose as well as verse in their various *bakhars* and *powadas*. In the *powada* or ballad written on this affair by Agnyandas during Shivaji's lifetime, and given by Messrs. Acworth and Salingram in their recent laborious collection, it is given in stirring indigenous verse, with many interesting details. As I have said, all the *bakhars* agree in this matter. I have taken the most important of these for a basis of my account. This is the *bakhar* of Shivaji, by Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, who was an official at the court of the first Rajaram, and wrote a few years after Shivaji's death, in about 1695. There are many other *bakhars* of Shivaji, especially that by Chitnis, written at the beginning of this century, which contains many important traditions, and other matter not quite authenticated. But Sabhasad's account, as it is one of the earliest, is also accepted as authentic and trustworthy, especially in the painstaking edition of Mr. Krishna Narayen Sane. Mr. Rajaram Bhagwat, Professor of Sanskrit at St. Xavier's College, who is known for his studies in Mahratta history, also attaches great value to Sabhasad's *bakhar* in his own excellent life of Shivaji. Mr. Udas' work in Marathi may also be mentioned in this connection.

Sabhasad's *Bakhar* differs in two main points from the Mahomedan view. It will have been seen that the latter makes Shivaji very anxious for the interview during which he wanted to kill his enemy. But here it is Afzal Khan who is anxious to see Shivaji. Afzal, before starting, had boasted before the Queen-Regent of Bijapur, that he would bring Shivaji before her dead or alive within a short time; and he was now thinking how best to capture Shivaji and redeem his honour. He resolved to send some one as his agent to Shivaji to make peace with him and to inspire confidence in him, and then to make him a prisoner alive. So he sent Krishnaji Bhaskar to the Mahratta camp as his agent, offering to Shivaji very favourable terms if he submitted, and requesting him to arrange for a personal interview. The wary Mahratta, who had throughout his career an extremely able intelligence department, came to know at once of the motive which prompted this request, and he immediately prepared to meet the enemy on his own ground. He spied out the secret of Afzal's intention of murdering him from his own agent, Gopinath Pant,* whom

* In the translation given by Mr. G. W. Forrest in his "Selections from the Bombay State Papers: Mahratta Series, Vol. I," of the *Bakhar* of Shivaji's life kept at Rauree Raigad, the ancient capital of his empire, and considered by Scott Waring to be the most authentic of the four Mahratta

he gained over by appealing to his religious sense and also to his patriotism, and in addition, promising a Jaghir. Gopinath told him that the Khan meant treachery, and, under the pretext of a friendly interview, intended to take him prisoner and send him to Bijapur. He, therefore, undertook to throw Afzal off his guard if Shivaji would be daring enough to strike the blow himself. Gopinath smoothed the way for Shivaji, and encouraged Afzal in his thought, that he would succeed in his plan of taking his enemy dead or alive at the meeting.

Shivaji prepared himself for the worst. He put on a *sherstran*, or steel cap and chain armour, underneath his simple coat and armed himself with the weapons of his people, the *bichva* and *wagnakha*. He descended slowly from the top of this fortress, and approached the Khan hesitatingly, as he was really afraid of being betrayed. The fact, that Afzal's attendants were kept at a distance, did not re-assure him, as he knew that the Khan was bodily very powerful and would, and did intend to crush him in the very act of embracing. The tradition about the Khan's bodily strength among the Mahrattas, which I heard from the Brahmans on Pratapgad Fort and elsewhere, is that he used to eat daily a whole large goat. The *Bakhar* compares him to the great Duryodhan, the leader of the Kaurava princes, whose

histories he had used for his own account. Dattaji Gopinath is given as the name of Shivaji's agent, or Vakeel, to the Khan. This *Bakhar* differs in many points from Sabhasad's, but agrees with it in saying that Shivaji doubted the sincerity of Afzal Khan in inviting him to a personal interview. Afzal Khan sent his Divan, Krishnaji Bhaskar, to Shivaji, to say that his improper conduct was forgiven, and that he would now consult his true interest if he joined him without any apprehension and accompanied him into the presence of the King. He would then procure him a pardon and increase of rank, and also permission to leave the Court. Krishnaji Bhaskar delivered his message to Shivaji. Shivaji suspected the sincerity of it, did not think it advisable for him to go and visit Afzal Khan. He replied that if Afzal Khan was really desirous of obtaining a pardon and additional rank for him from the King, he hoped that he would, in the first place, come unattended and visit him, and after Afzal Khan had done that, and satisfied his mind with regard to his apprehension, and sworn to the sincerity of his assurances, he might then take him by the hand and conduct him to Court and there exert himself in his behalf as he might think proper. If Afzal Khan should agree to this proposal he would prepare a place of meeting below the gate of the fort, where he would wait unattended to receive the Khan. Shivaji then sent Dattaji Gopinath, as his Vakeel, to the Khan, along with Krishnaji Bhaskar. These two persons arrived at Wai, and communicated Shivaji's answer to Afzal Khan, who agreed to Shivaji's proposal. Dattaji returned to inform Shivaji, and that Chief fixed upon a spot for the interview. . . . Uncertain as to what might happen when the meeting took place, he sent for some Brahmans, gave them a great deal of money, and desired them to go to Banaras and Gaya and perform all the ceremonies which were prescribed by the Hindu religion, to be performed on the death of a person. He also gave a number of cows in charity and cut his beard short." (page II.)

great strength is mentioned in the Mahabharat, and says that he was like him in nature, in huge bodily strength, and was also just as vicious. The meeting took place, and here the Mahratta and the Mahomedan accounts differ considerably. The former says that as soon as the Khan got Shivaji in his embrace, he seized his head in his hand and pressed it hard. He further drew his sword from his scabbard, and used it on Shivaji's body, but it made only a rattling noise upon the chain armour with which his body was protected, and had no effect. Seeing this, continues the *Bakhar*, Shivaji thrust the *wagnakha* in his left hand into the bowels of the Khan and thus killed him in self-defence.

This is the Mahratta version, not got up in a later age, but one which was current at the very time, and which has never lost credit among the people up to our own day. Every nation has a right to have its own say on important events connected with its history and great men. Shivaji is the greatest national hero of the Mahratta nation, and certainly deserves to have his actions judged not only and exclusively from the point of view of his enemies, the Mahomedans—but also from that of his own countrymen. The Mahratta version is just as trustworthy as the Mahomedan, and it has, perhaps, greater probability on its side. Can it be believed that a great and skilful Mahomedan General like Afzal should be so simple and unwise as to trust himself to a person like Shivaji and have an unguarded interview, especially when, only a short while before this, he had had his eldest brother Sambhaji, the favourite son of his parents, treacherously murdered? Indeed, this murder of his brother rankled in Shivaji's mind, and furnished an additional motive to him to turn the tables upon the wily Mussulman; and one of the instructions given him by his mother, devotion to whom is one of the most beautiful traits of his character, on his final leave-taking, was to remember that treacherous deed, and, if possible, to avenge it. Again the Bijapur Court had treacherously taken his father Shahji a prisoner through their agent Ghorepede, and Afzal must have known how deeply the son felt for this treachery to his father. On the other hand Shivaji was known to Afzal and the other Mahomedans as treacherous, and in the beginning of this very campaign, they believed him,—though there is some doubt about his guilt in this matter—to have caused the assassination of the Raja of Jaoli. The desecration of the temples of Bhavani and other gods at Tuljapur and elsewhere, along the route of the Bijapur army, had greatly incensed such a staunch and enthusiastic Hindu as Shivaji was even then known to be, and Afzal must have easily guessed that he was an irreconcilable foe. It was such an enemy,—a man whose father was treacherously imprisoned

by his King, and whose brother was deceitfully killed by himself, whose gods, for whom he felt more than for his parents and family, he had insulted, and destroyed their temples ; it was such an enemy, in whose arms, the current account wants us to believe, Afzal Khan trusted himself in friendly embrace.

We would refuse to believe this even about an age which was guiltless of frequent treachery, and about men who were pretty scrupulous in their means. But Shivaji's age was quite different, and his contemporaries free from scruples to an uncommon extent. What we call treachery was considered almost a lawful means of gaining their ends, and at its worst, was very lightly thought of. It was only the party that was worsted by it that complained. When both sides tacitly recognised it to be a legitimate mode of warfare, its heinousness must to some extent have disappeared. The Mahomedans used it to the full as much as the Mahrattas. And the very Bijapur Court, implicated in the tragedy we are considering, furnishes many more examples of this than those given above. A short time before this event, Khan Mahomed, Adil Shah's prime minister, was inveigled and treacherously murdered at the city-gate in open day-light ; and people thought lightly of it. His son, Khawas Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, met with a similar fate during the latter years of Shivaji's life, when he was treacherously killed by Abdul Karim, the prime minister. Abdul Kareem treated Dinanath Paul, who instigated him to do this deed, in a similar way, and killed him treacherously. Nor were the Deccani Mahomedans alone in this respect. The Northerners were just like them. What was it but gross treachery when Aurangzebe, having inveigled Shivaji by false promises to his court, kept him a close prisoner ? Aurangzebe gave similar instructions to Khan Jehan as regards Abdul Kareem. Rao Kerran of Bicani was to be dealt with in a treacherous way by Dilir Khan, owing to instructions from Aurangzebe, but Bhow Sing gave him timely information. And accounts of the last Moguls, the Childerics and Chilperics of Delhi, furnish instances of gross unscrupulousness and breach of faith.

But it is rather hard upon men of that age, with its own peculiar ideals and methods, to judge them by our present high standard. If we believe in the evolution of morality, the present high western stand is the result of ages of development, being the slow outcome of circumstances, influenced by wider and wiser knowledge and a higher religion. We are the heirs of all the ages in our knowledge and judgment and morality. If we are wiser, more moral, and have a higher standard of ethics ; in short, if we look further ahead in matters of morality as in others, it is because we are mounted on the

shoulders of all the past generations of the West and of the East. We would not think of blaming Shivaji and his contemporaries for not being as learned as we are in the end of the 19th century ; then why should we come down so severely upon them for not having a higher standard of ethics? If history teaches us anything, it is to judge of nations and heroes with reference to the times in which they lived and their entire environment, mental and moral, political and social. To try Eastern nations by a Western standard, to judge ancients by modern ideas, to condemn Pagans in the light of Christianity and other pure religions, is manifestly unjust. Of course, tried by a universal and eternal standard of right and wrong, which knows of no circumstances, of no time and no space, which is blind to extenuations and excuses, all wrong-doers are on the same level, and Shivaji and Napoleon are on the same platform as Cain. But we leave that awful task of judgment to the highest tribunal, whose mysterious ways we know not, nor can know. History has a humbler task and less wide sweep. In judging Shivaji, it reminds us that he was born and bred in a rude age, rendered still ruder by political chaos which unsettled life in all its departments, that his environment was such as could not make him see the more excellent way which it is our great good fortune to see and follow, that the ideals of his times were low compared with ours, that his contemporaries were not on a higher, but on the same, if not a lower level, and above all that he had not the means available to us of knowing better.

In his whole life there appears no sign to show that a doubt ever crossed his mind while doing things we call treacherous, and meeting a mine by a countermine. On the contrary, he prepared for most of the doubtful deeds of his life, in a manner which clearly shows in what light he viewed them. Before preparing for this very meeting with Afzal Khan, he thought that he was only doing a very brave deed, and that, if he lost life in doing it, he would obtain glory. In the *bakhar* he is represented as quoting verses whose refrain is : " As life is mortal in any case, why should we be afraid of losing it in the battle-field." And he quite sincerely believed that he was to fight a fair fight in killing Afzal by his dagger. Nor was he alone in this. His age and people thought the same. The chronicler represents them both when he lauds the deed, and compares it to the fight of Bheem with Duryodhan, celebrated in the great Hindu epic, and thus gives it the highest praise possible for a Hindu to give. The chronicler further states that Shivaji must have been not human, but divine, in doing such a brave deed. To judge of such a man in such an age as we would judge a European, is really unjust. To put him in the same category with Napoleon, who had so

many of his enemies assassinated, is unfair to Shivaji, because Napoleon certainly knew better and had ample opportunities of knowing better. Again, Clive's guilt, when he deceived the miscreant Omichund, is greater than Shivaji's, because he, too, had higher lights, which he could have followed, and certainly knew that he was doing something wrong, while about Shivaji there is no such evidence of such knowledge.

I am not, after what I have said, to be understood to exculpate Shivaji altogether. What I insist on are the extenuating circumstances, even at the risk of being called a casuist. And a casuist in the literary sense I may be, as I insist on considering each case of historical wrong separately, with its peculiar circumstances, and not involving all indiscriminately in one universal anathema of condemnation. I have given this Mahratta view at some length, because I have never seen it put forth at all by any European, except the solitary instance of Scott Waring, who, too, only put a part of it. The writer of the historical portion of the Sattara volume of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, after quoting from Waring, curtly dismisses this view by remarking in a note that "this intention of Abdoollah does not extenuate Shivaji's conduct, for Shivaji had made up his mind from the first to murder the Musulman General," (Vol. XIX, page 237). May I ask the writer about the authority for this statement of his that Shivaji had *made up his mind from the first to murder Afzal*? He should not refer me to Grant Duff, whose account he has given word for word. I have ascended higher in point of time than Duff; in fact, I think I have succeeded in showing that Duff merely stereotyped the one-sided Mahomedan and the hearsay European contemporary account—the latter most probably also derived from the former—without criticising it, and even without giving the equally plausible and more probable account of the Mahrattas.

After this great event Pratapgad has witnessed no other important scene in Mahratta history, and its existence as a fort ended in 1818, when, on the fall of Baji Rao II. and the total destruction of the Mahratta power, all the Mahratta forts, great and small, were taken and dismantled. Now Pratapgadh Fort is only important as a relic of the greatness of the power which was once so formidable in the country; and it well repays the tourist, who takes the trouble to go to its top, by the splendid panoramic scenery which it commands. The view to be obtained from the top on all sides is one of the grandest in these parts, and is much better than that from Mahableshwar, in that the latter is confined chiefly to the west, while from here is viewed a panorama extending in all directions, and rivalling, in wildness, grandeur and extent, any to be obtained elsewhere in Western India. As we make the narrow circuit of

the upper fort, the whole scene revolves around us with the varying effect of a phantasmagoria. To the east stands out boldly against the horizon the Mahableshwar range with its thickly wooded flat top, through which here and there peep out the high roofs and chimneys of bungalows, especially "Bella Vista," and the rounded peaks of Duke's Point, and Carnac Peak, and its cliffs, wooded and green, falling with a gentle slope into the valley to the right, and those to the left bare and precipitous. The various western points appear in bold relief as huge bastions and buttresses against the side of the hill—the flat plateau of Babington, the thick green knoll of Bombay, the picturesque tongue of Lodwick Point, with its tiny monument hardly visible from this distance, the wild and precipitous crags of Elphinstone, and the steep bare cliffs of Arthur's Seat to the extreme left, complete the whole western side of Mahableshwar opposite to Pratabgad. Mahableshwar, indeed, looks much like what Matheran appears from the opposite hill-top of Prabal, the same flat, wooded summit with the cape-like points running down into the valleys. To the left of Arthur's Seat and separated from Mahableshwar by the valley of the Krishna and the Savitri, and yet appearing to belong to it, is the hill of Jor, equally high and wooded, with steep precipitous sides. From Arthur's Seat, as well as from Jor spur, away to the Konkan below, three long lines of rugged hills, inexpressibly wild and bare, now appearing gray under the rays of the afternoon sun, broken into peaks of all shapes, of which Kangori is the only one fortified. Beyond these, to the north, is the long massive wall of hills in Bhor State, separating Poona and Kolaba from the Satara country here, which contains three other great and famous forts of Shivaji—Rajgad, his capital fortress, in which he was crowned, to the right and east, the long-lying Torna in the middle, and Raigad to the left and west, in Kolaba, his family fortress. Between Pratabgad and Mahableshwar is the valley of the Koyna and the district of Ambanali, green with dense forests, to which the eye willingly turns away from the wild and desolate scene to the north and north-east. From Raigad the hills turn to the west almost at right angles, while beyond them, in the distance, against the north-western horizon, dim in the haze, appears the indented line of the Kolaba hills sloping to the coast. Between these hills and the north-western side of Pratabgad, there is the same striking scene of bare desolation as to the north-east hills and undulating plain between, through which winds the thin silver streak of the Savitri, widening in the distance into a gulf at Mahad, and flowing onward past Dasgaon, meeting the sea at Nagotna. Immediately below the northern bastion is the spur, abutting on Pratabgad, of the Gowra hills, round

whose sides twines the Fitzgerald Pass road to the sea, meeting, at the village of Kineshwar, the old Par Pass road. From the western bastion there is the view of the steep sheer cliffs, nearly a thousand feet in height, going down to the bed of Adira, which meets the Savitri at Kapri, near the village of Poladpur. In the distance the scene is bounded by the sea at Janjira and Ratnagiri, now shining like a sheet of whitish red copper under the rays of the declining sun, whilst between, again, are four lines of hills, rising wave-like, one behind the other in irregular forms. The barren desolation of the northern and north-eastern view here changes again into dense woods and green vegetation in the south-west, where begins the long range of hills receding from the low country into the Deccan above. They are seen to better advantage from the southern bastion which overlooks the temple of Bhowani in the lower fort below. This almost impassable range begins with the rounded peak of Sibtok to the right, and includes the flat Chowragadh, and, next to it, the well-defined double peak of Makrangadh, whose two humps and the connecting ridge between look quite like a saddle. Between these two last, from behind the connecting hills, stand out against the southern horizon the distant hills of Parbat, the southern limit of Satara separating it from Ratnagiri. To the south-east is the hill of Kelgar, close to Mahableshtar on its south, and equally well and thickly wooded, though lower in height. Between these ranges of hills on either hand, in a beautiful valley, green with woods and lawns, winds the Koyna, which flows from its source in these parts on to Satara and the country beyond, receiving on its left, below Kelgar, the stream of Solshi.

THE QUARTER.

IF we except the great public meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall, on the 8th April, to protest against the exemption of cotton goods from the new import duties, and the mysterious smearing of mango trees in certain parts of Behar, the past twelve weeks in India have been more than usually uneventful. The legislative session at Simla has not yet begun, and the Viceroy has as yet made no sign, unless the somewhat stand-off attitude of the Government of India in the Financial Department, can be regarded as such.

The Financial Statement was presented by Mr. Westland on the 22nd March, and passed the following week, after a debate which was noteworthy as showing how completely the forms may be divorced from the spirit of constitutional Government. From the speeches it was transparent that, with possibly a single exception, the Council unanimously condemned the policy imposed upon the Government by the Secretary of State in the matter of the cotton duties, the only difference being that the non-official members voted in accordance with, and the official members in opposition to, their convictions.

The Statement itself had been largely discounted by that made by Mr. Westland, in connexion with the Tariff Bill, on the 1st March. The Revised Estimates for 1893-94 showed a deficit of Rx. 1,793,000, being worse than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 198,000. The Imperial Revenue was better than the Budget Estimate by Rx. 319,000; but there was a great loss on Opium, the revenue from which was lower by Rx. 1,185,000 than any recorded in recent years, and the expenditure exceeded the Budget Estimates by Rx. 517,000.

The Estimates for the current year showed a deficit of Rx. 2,923,000, which it was proposed to meet in part by the new Import duties, expected to yield Rx. 1,140,000; by a suspension of Railway expenditure on Famine Insurance account, to the extent of Rx. 1,076,000, and by contributions from Provincial revenues to the extent of Rx. 405,000, leaving a final deficit of Rx. 302,000. Loss by Exchange was estimated as worse than the Budget Estimate for 1893-94 by Rx. 1,371,000, and there is every prospect of its far exceeding the amount thus anticipated.

The meeting at the Town Hall, to which we have already referred, was largely attended by all classes of the community. The first Resolution, which was moved by Rajah Peary Mohun

Mookerjea, was to the effect :—" That this meeting most emphatically protests against the exclusion of cotton goods from the Indian Tariff Act, a course which, without providing for the whole of the deficit, has led, as a consequence, to the diversion of the Famine Insurance Fund, an appropriation of a large portion of the Provincial balances to Imperial purposes, and the suspension of public works urgently required to maintain the development of the resources of the country."

The second Resolution, moved by Mr. Pugh, ran :—" That this meeting views with the gravest alarm the action of the Secretary of State for India on this occasion, since it appears that, besides setting aside the unanimous public opinion of this country—an opinion the existence of which he has admitted—, he overruled the recommendation of the Government of India, and determined the course to be followed in India, against the dissent of every Member of the Council of India, and, on this and other occasions, has unduly fettered the action of the Legislative Council of the Governor-General."

The third, moved by Mr. Womack, was as follows :—" That, in order to bring home to the people of England the grievances of the people of India, and with a view to the principles upon which English rule is founded being once for all enunciated and placed beyond doubt, the petition, which is before the meeting, be adopted for submission to the House of Commons."

The Resolutions were all unanimously passed.

In the House of Commons on the 14th March, Sir George Chesney moved a Resolution that the House had "learnt with regret the determination of Her Majesty's advisers, contrary to the wishes of the people of India, to restrain the Government of that country from taking the measures proposed by them for meeting the deficit in their revenues, and that, in the opinion of the House, such a disregard of the feelings and interests of the people of India was at variance with the principles which should regulate our conduct towards them." Mr. Fowler, in replying, pleaded that the mandate of the House of Commons which had led to the abolition of the duties on cotton goods, barred the Government from re-imposing them without its consent, conveniently ignoring the fact that the mandate in question was so worded as to make it conditional on the financial position of the Government of India being such as to justify the abolition. At the same time, he admitted that a countervailing excise duty on Indian manufactures would remove the chief objection to the duties, though he added that there were formidable difficulties in the way of an excise. He further promised that the question should have the careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He has since denied that any question exists.

Public interest on the subject in India has, of late, somewhat abated, but the question is destined to be revived at an early date.

Local opinion regarding it found an echo in the speech of Sir Frank Forbes Adams, the President, at the recent meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. Referring to the widespread preference of both Natives and Europeans for this form of taxation, as shown by the recent agitation, the speaker advised its acceptance, on the condition that it was accompanied by a corresponding excise on Indian goods.

Exchange has continued to fall, till within the last three weeks, with successive sales of Council Bills, and though, for the moment, it shows slight signs of improvement, it is probable that the recovery is only temporary. On the 19th ultimo the Indian Currency Association, whose energy seems to outrun their discretion, addressed a letter to the Government of India, strongly urging them to ascertain the Secretary of State's intentions regarding the "forced sales" of Council Bills. To this the Government of India have replied, that the Secretary of State has adhered strictly to the programme laid down in the Financial Statement ; that it is incorrect to speak of "forced sales" of Council Bills, as the sales, so far, have not exceeded the amount due to the period of the year which has passed ; that the Government of India cannot undertake to be the intermediary of criticism of the policy of the Secretary of State, and that they have stated their general policy in the Budget, and, while recognising the gravity of the situation, adhere to it unreservedly.

Sir David Barbour has somewhat surprised the more thoroughgoing advocates of the closing of the mints by a speech on the Currency question which he delivered recently at the Egyptian Hall, and in which, while stating that it was as yet too soon to say whether the attempt to establish a gold standard would be successful, he said it was clear that it would be a work of time, and would require further heavy sacrifices. In this he is considered to have blown cold on the work of his own hands ; but it is really no more than he said in Council, when the Government scheme was launched. The great mistake which the Government have made is in thinking that they could establish a gold standard without paying for it. The heavy sacrifices which Sir David Barbour has in view, should have been accepted frankly, and provided for in the first instance ; and every day's delay in accepting and providing for them, must add to the ultimate cost of establishing the new standard at a given rate.

The vague apprehensions that have been aroused, in England in a greater degree than in this country, by the smearing of the mangoe-trees in Behar, furnish a striking testimony to the last-

ing character of the shock to public confidence caused by the events of the great Mutiny. It is quite possible that the incident possesses no serious import whatever, and more probable than not, that, if it possesses any, it in no way directly concerns the European community. But a fancied analogy between it and the famous incident of the ehuppattis, combined with the theory, evolved on the *post hoc propter hoc* principle, that the latter was connected in some way with the terrible events which followed it, has set timid people imagining coming troubles of a similar order, under conditions, humanly speaking, incompatible with their occurrence, and foolish people talking and writing about them with an indiscretion which is really much more alarming than the incident itself. The gravest offender in this respect has been the London *Spectator*, which made the matter the occasion for an article virtually predicting another Mutiny, if not a widespread popular insurrection, within a week. This was followed by a letter from Colonel Malleson, who ought to know better, to the *Times*, endorsing the writers views and fears, and there was every chance that, had not men so much more competent, from their comparatively recent experience of India, to speak with authority, as Sir Alfred Lyall, Lords Lansdowne and Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin, come forward to re-assure the public, a most unfortunate and discreditable panic would have been created. Sir Alfred Lyall's opinion is, that the significance of the incident is religious rather than political, and that it need create no such alarm as that which the *Spectator's* article was calculated to create, and this view of the matter is generally endorsed by the other authorities named. The worst feature, however, in the discussion to which the incident has given rise in England, is the attempt to which certain writers have descended, to make political capital out of it, by roundly declaring it to be an expression of the indignation excited in the native mind, by what they happen to consider the latest example of British tyranny and injustice. For one writer this is the refusal of the Government to accede to the demand for simultaneous examinations for the Civil Service; for another it is the exemption of Cotton goods from the import duties!—suggestions which, to people on the spot, seem too preposterous to be seriously entertained by any sane human being. By an unfortunate coincidence, in the midst of the excitement caused by this incident, it has become known that a spirit of insubordination, of a somewhat grave kind, has exhibited itself among a portion of the 17th B. N. I. stationed at Agra. The men paraded without orders, refused to disperse when called upon to do so, and expressed in emphatic terms their dissatisfaction at the admission of certain recruits into the regiment,

which is a caste one, more distinguished for its gallantry in the field, than, it is said, for its peacefulness in cantonments. Thirteen of the men and one native officer have been tried by Court Martial in connexion with the matter, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and to be struck off the rolls of the Regiment.

The despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on the subject of the recent religious disturbances, especially those in connexion with cow killing, has been published. The Government of India attribute the growing frequency of such occurrences mainly to three causes: (1) the greater frequency of communication and interchange of news by post and telegraph; (2) the greater forwardness of the Hindoos in the race for life, and their participation in the spirit and practice of political organisation after modern Western methods, and (3) the Hindoo revival at present in progress, as a re-action against the spread of religious indifference caused, in the first instance, by Western education.

The simultaneous examinations question has been disposed of, for, let it be hoped, at least a generation, in a despatch of Mr. Fowler to the Government of India, dated the 19th April, in which he states that, while anxious that the natives of India should enjoy every facility for entering the public service compatible with the security of British rule, he is convinced that insuperable objections exist to the proposed scheme. The best method of meeting the legitimate claims of natives, it is added, is to bestow the available higher posts on tried and trustworthy subordinates, and that the system lately established by the Government of India, appears to be based on wise and just principles and should be maintained.

A Bill to enable Indian Railways under construction to pay interest on capital, has been read a second time in the House of Commons, and will remove a serious obstacle to the investment of private capital in such enterprises.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Bengal Municipalities Bill, which, among other things, enables the local Government to disestablish or alter the boundaries of Municipalities; to appoint *ex-officio* Commissioners; to appoint an auditor, when the accounts of a Municipality are found to be in confusion, and what is, perhaps, the most important change of all to the rate-payer, to appoint an official assessor, if dissatisfied with the valuation of the Commissioners, was passed on the 28th April; and the Bengal Sanitary Draniage Bill, which is justly exciting considerable dissatisfaction and alarm, has been advanced a stage. An important Bill to amend the Revenue Sale Law was also introduced in the Council on the 31st March, by which it is proposed to abolish the discretion, at present

vested in the Collector, to exempt an estate from sale on the day of sale, giving the proprietor, instead thereof, power to prevent the sale before that day, by full payment of all arrears with interest and penalty. The Bill also contains a dangerous provision, depriving the Civil Courts of the power to annul a sale on account of arrears of revenue.

An interesting ceremony was performed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on the 23rd April, when he opened the water-works at Arrah. The works, the cost of which is close on four lakhs of rupees, of which a lakh and a half was contributed by Raja Rajgurni Prasad Singh, a lakh by the District Board, a similar sum by the Local Municipality, and the rest by public subscription, were completed in less than a year by Messrs. Martin & Co., the contractors. The intake stands on the rightbank of the Sone, about five miles distant from Arrah, where is also erected an engine-house with a large pump-well. From this centre the water is carried through a cast-iron pipe, ten inches in diameter. There are three engines in all, manufactured by Messrs. Tangye Brothers, of Birmingham, on an improved principle. The water is discharged into four settling tanks drawn through a suction-pipe. The settling tanks are built to hold a day's supply of water, or, roughly, 300,000 gallons. Here the water undergoes a process of settling, and is conveyed to three filters, the total area of which is 6,000 superficial feet. Thence it passes into a clear-water reservoir, and is distributed by one of the large engines through a cast-iron main into the town. The water will be distributed to the precincts of the Municipality by forty stand-posts of one tap, and five of two taps. Besides these, there are eleven hydrants. The water will be led to the stand-posts by more than five miles of piping. It will be delivered, in the first instance, into a large wrought-iron cistern, 30 feet above ground-level, and will flow thence into the main by gravitation.

An important discovery has been made at Ferozepore of systematic robbery of the Government arsenal at that place. Through information given by a prisoner under trial for receipt of stolen goods, a large quantity of rifles, locks and barrels were found concealed in the bazaar, and the investigation which followed, disclosed long continued dealings in these articles by former European Conductors with men in the bazaar, who resold them to Pathans at a large profit. Three of the culprits have been arrested in England, and charged before the extradition Court at Bow Street.

It is hoped that this exposure will put a stop to the pernicious traffic which has, for a long time past, been going on between the bazaars in the Punjab and the frontier tribes. An

even more serious mischief would be prevented if the less dishonest, but not less iniquitous, trade in arms of sorts, which has long been carried on by British subjects, not always bazaar dealers, with Nepal, could also be put a stop to.

The failure of the wheat crop in certain parts of the Central Provinces, especially in the Saugor and Damoh districts, owing to rust, is causing considerable distress, and it has been found necessary to start relief works on a small scale.

A committee, whose investigations, if they do their work thoroughly, should be attended by important economies, is sitting at Simla, under the Presidentship of Mr. D. Lyall, to enquire into the establishment charges of the Department of Military Works, and the causes of the reluctance of Royal Engineer Officers to volunteer for service in the Public Works Department.

Among the personal changes of the quarter, we may note the appointment of Mr. D. R. Lyall to officiate as Chief Commissioner of Assam, *vice* Mr. Ward, and of Mr. Hewett to act for him in the Home Secretaryship to the Government of India ; of Major Temple to officiate as Chief Commissioner of the Andamans ; of Colonel Bissett to succeed Mr. O'Callaghan as Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department, and of Mr. Pearson, of the Calcutta Bar, to succeed Mr. Marsden as Chief Presidency Magistrate.

Though, owing to the defection of the Parnellites, the Ministerial majority has been reduced by half, and notwithstanding one or two serious contretemps, the predictions of an early dissolution, as a result of the change of Premiers, has been signally falsified. Sir William Harcourt's Budget, which was read a second time on the 10th ultimo by 14 votes, has, on the whole, been favourably received by the country. The accounts for the year show a deficit of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions, which is reduced by nearly one half by the repayment from the new Sinking Fund of portion of the burdens arising from the Naval Defence Act. To make up the rest, it is proposed to equalise the death duties, and introduce a graduated scale, according to which estates under £500 will pay 1 per cent. ; estates from £500 to £1,000 2 per cent. ; estates from £1,000 to £10,000, three per cent. ; from £10,000 to £25,000, four per cent. ; from £25,000 to £50,000, four and-a-half per cent. ; from £50,000 to £75,000, five per cent. ; from £75,000 to £100,000, five and-a-half per cent. ; from £100,000 to £150,000, six per cent. ; from £150,000 to £250,000, six and-a-half per cent. ; £250,000 to £500,000, seven per cent. ; £500,000 to £1,000,000 seven and-a-half per cent. ; over a £1,000,000 eight per cent. ; to add a penny to the Income Tax, at the same time extending the limit of exemption from £120 to £160, and to increase the spirit duty by

6*d.* a gallon and the beer duty by 6*d.* a barrel. In the debate on the second reading, the rejection of the Budget was moved by Mr. Grant Lawson, seconded by Mr. Cosmo Bonsor, and supported by, among others, Mr. Goschen and Mr. Balfour. In the division the Parnellites voted against the Government, and three Liberal brewers abstained.

The Registration Bill, which abolishes plural voting, and provides that the Register shall be revised twice a year and all elections be held on the same day—Saturday—, was read a second time, on the 4th ultimo, by a majority of 14, the Parnellites abstaining. The Scotch Grand Committee was passed on the 25th April, and the Miners Eight Hour's Bill was read a second time on the 25th idem.

The Evicted Tenants Bill was introduced by Mr. Morley on the 19th April, and the Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales was read the first time on the 30th idem. Under the latter Bill, disendowment will be gradual, the corpus of the Church property will pass from the Church to the nation, to be enjoyed locally and parochially, a measure of compensation being granted to clergy and patrons. Mr. Asquith, in the course of the debate, gave a tempting list of the objects to which the property might be devoted. This included the support of cottage or other hospitals, dispensaries or convalescent homes, the provision of trained nurses for the sick poor, the foundation and maintenance of public parish and district halls and institutes of learning, the erection of labourers' dwellings, the promotion of technical and higher education, including the establishment of a national library and museum and an academy of art, and the promotion of any public purpose of local or general utility for which provision is not made by statute out of public rates.

The Government have determined to withdraw the Bill for the local control of the sale of liquor. Colonel Nolan's Bill for the repeal of the Coercion Act was read a second time, by a majority of sixty votes, on the 17th April.

Lord Rosebery has won golden opinions by the firmness, we might almost say the boldness, of his Foreign policy. As a party tactician, he has, perhaps, failed to realise the full measure of the duplicity required from a man in his exalted and responsible position. His speech in the House of Lords, on the 19th March, furnished a notable instance of this failure. England, as the predominant member of the partnership, he said, must be convinced before Home Rule could be given to Ireland. The effect of this reckless frankness on his Irish supporters, however, proved so serious, that he found it advisable, at Edinburgh the following week, to qualify his statement, by explaining, that it was by no means intended to imply that

a majority of English members must be in favour of Home Rule. On the contrary, if a majority of 100 members in the entire House were in its favour, but a majority of 45 in England against it, he would consider the voting a sufficient proof that England was convinced; after which, it would be interesting to know Lord Rosebery's definition of conviction.

Through what can be described only as gross carelessness on the part of the Liberal whips, Mr. Labouchere was allowed to carry an amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's speech, praying her Majesty that the Lords' power of veto might cease, by a majority of two, and Sir William Harcourt had to extricate the Ministry from the difficulty by a motion proposing the rejection of the Address, and the substitution of another, which was carried unanimously. Mr. Morley, speaking at Newcastle on Tyne recently, declared that the House of Lords had gone too far to be mended and must, consequently, be ended, a statement, which taken in connexion with what Lord Rosebery has said, and what are known to be the views of the more moderate Liberals on the subject, seems to foreshadow a split in the party over the question, should it ever come up for legislation.

The Government have announced in both Houses of Parliament that, after full consideration of the late Sir Gerald Portal's Report, they have determined to establish a regular administration in Uganda, under a British Protectorate. A no less important event, and one which threatens to lead to serious complications, is the conclusion of a treaty between Britian and the king of the Belgians, by which the province of Bahr el Ghazal is leased to the Congo Free State, thus barring the road of France from the westward, and Great Britian secures a strip of territory uniting Lake Tanganyika with Lake Albert Edward, and completing her communications by road, lake and river between the Cape and Cairo. The treaty has caused great indignation in France, which claims a right of pre-emption over the territory leased, and declares its determination to contest the matter with Great Britain. The German Ambassador at Brussels is also said to have lodged a protest against the treaty on behalf of his Government; but this is probably a purely formal step. A treaty has also been concluded between Great Britain and Italy, by which the two Powers agree to a delimitation of their respective spheres of interest in the territory about Aden,

Commercial treaties have also been concluded between Germany and Russia and Austria and Russia.

In France the late Ministry have resigned, owing to the passing of a socialist resolution, demanding that the servants on State Railways should be allowed to attend the Railway Men's

Congress, a somewhat small matter, it might seem, to upset a Government. A new Ministry has been formed by M. Dupuy with M. Hanotaux as Foreign Minister and M. Faure as Minister of Marine.

A series of severe earthquakes in Greece have desolated the Atalanti district, completely destroying the city of Thebes, which seems to have been the centre of the disturbance, and causing considerable loss of life. Some of the shocks were felt at Athens, and the Parthenon has suffered considerable damage.

Among noteworthy personal events of the quarter have been the marriage of the Princess Victoria Melita, second daughter of the Duke of Coburg, to the Grand Duke of Hesse, son of the late Princess Alice, at Coburg, in the presence of her Majesty the Queen; the betrothal of Princess Alix of Hesse to the Czarewitch, which was announced at the Coburg wedding, and the appointment of Lord Roberts to succeed Lord Wolseley in the command in Ireland.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Hannen; Lord Justice Bowen; the Marquis of Ailesbury; Major Le Caron; Mr. Edmund Yates; Mr. Henry Morley; Mr. Brian Houghton Hodgson, B. C. S. *Ret.*, formerly Minister at the Court of Nepal, and well-known for his philological investigations; Mr. George James Romanes, F. R. S., the naturalist, and Mr. F. W. Broughton, dramatist; Rai Bunkim Chunder Chatterjea, the Bengalee novelist, and Mir Ali Murad Khan, Chief of Khairpur, in Sind.

June 10th 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year 1892-93.

IN 1892-93, 204,556 boys and girls were under instruction in 4,845 State and aided institutions under Departmental control, compared with 204,568 in 4,975 institutions in 1891-92. The total attendance was thus almost the same in the two years, though there was a slight increase in the number of boys and a corresponding decrease in that of girls. The decrease in the number of schools was due to the closing of inefficient primary schools for boys and girls. The aggregate *direct* expenditure shows an increase on that for 1892-93, and the portion of that expenditure borne by the public revenues also increased. The *indirect* expenditure was Rs 8,91,659, against Rs. 8,40,974 in 1891-92, showing an increase of Rs. 50,685. Of the indirect expenditure Rs. 6,09,804 was borne by public revenues. The large increase in these indirect charges was mainly on account of buildings and apparatus, and was for the most part met from endowments.

The proportion borne by the expenditure from public revenues to the whole direct expenditure on each of the main classes of education was—

						1892-93.	1891-92.
University	...	...	...	...	...	50	47
Secondary	...	..	...	...	...	45	40
Primary	...	...	...	...	...	79	78

The number of students attending Arts Colleges and collegiate classes attached to certain high schools increased by 126.

An increase in the number of candidates at all the University examinations and in the number who passed is noticeable. In the Intermediate examination of 1891-92 failures were exceptionally numerous, owing to the severity of the papers in English and Mathematics. This defect from candidates' point of view has been *redressed* in the examination of the year under report. The Canning College was remarkably successful in both the B.A. and the Intermediate examinations, passing 35 students in the former, out of 53 sent up, and 50 in the latter out of 84. The corresponding figures for the Muir Central College were 37 passed out of 68 sent up for the B.A. examination, and 54 passed out of 106 sent up for the intermediate. The B, or scientific, course in the B.A. examination appears to be growing in favour in the larger colleges.

In the law departments of the different colleges 615 students were enrolled, and 24 obtained the degree of bachelor of law. In the Sanskrit College, Benares, and the Arabic department of the Canning College, useful work is adjudged to have been done during the year.

State secondary schools, commonly known as zila schools, numbered 37, with an enrolment of 7,036 boys, and an expenditure of Rs. 37·7 per head, of which Rs. 23·2 was defrayed from public funds. The aided secondary schools numbered 76, with an enrolment of 12,009 boys, and an expenditure of only Rs. 26·2 per head, of which Rs. 11·6 was met from public grants-in-aid. The branch schools, which numbered 34, with an enrolment of 2,500 boys and an expenditure of Rs. 7·5 per head, are restricted to primary classes, and their object is to relieve the zila schools of the burden of teaching the primary classes. The average tuitional expenditure in State secondary schools is considerably greater than that in aided schools of the same character; but the higher tuitional expenditure results in a higher average standard of instruction. In 34 of the 37 State schools there is a high, or matriculation, section: but this is the case in 44 only of the 76 aided secondary schools. Again 50 per cent. of the scholars in the aided schools are in the lower primary section, while in the Government schools the proportion is only 20 per cent. The fact is that the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are so varied in character that a general average either of expenditure or of examination results is misleading. The expenditure of a first class aided school like the Jubilee High School in Lucknow is as great as that of a first class State school, and the efficiency is the same. At the other end of the scale is the lately opened aided school at Bilgrám, which does not profess to teach the Anglo-Vernacular course beyond the middle standard, and which has a staff barely sufficient for even this modest ambition. An important class of the aided Anglo-Vernacular schools are those managed by the different missionary societies. We are glad to hear that it is within the knowledge of the Government that not a few of them are doing excellent work. It has been recognised by liberal grants.

The introduction of science and drawing teaching into five selected high schools, with the object of enabling students to be prepared for the School Final examination, was the chief event of the year. To Professor Murray, of the Muir Central College, the Government is indebted for the supervision which he voluntarily gave to the science teaching at the outset. The drawing classes have from the first been under the superintendence of Mr. Crosse, Officiating Inspector for Oudh, and appear to be progressing satisfactorily. Statistics show that the

science and drawing classes are well filled in four of the five schools, the Meerut Aided School being the exception. The revision of the Middle English curriculum which has lately been sanctioned has now brought the bifurcation of studies to as early a stage in a student's life as is possible. Under the revised scheme, a boy, on entering the middle section of an Anglo-Vernacular school, may take up elementary science and drawing instead of a classical language, and thus begin to specialise for the School Final examination, or the B course of the University.

During the year a punishment code was experimentally introduced, which, by defining the powers of head masters and specifying the punishments awardable for particular offences, will, it is hoped, be of some disciplinary value. In the matter of out-door games and gymnastics considerable progress is chronicled, and inter-school tournaments were held with success in every circle. School fines have been transferred to the recreation fund, and, furthermore, the grant to the fund of a sum equal to the subscriptions raised in its behalf in each district, has greatly improved the prospects of school sports in the provinces.

Vernacular middle, or "town," schools are all maintained by the State. In 1892-93 they numbered 315, with an enrolment of 29,171 on the 31st March 1893, and an average monthly enrolment of 27,729. In 1891-92 the average monthly enrolment was 26,915. Of the total number of enrolled scholars 5,631 were in the middle section, 5,950 in the upper primary, and 17,590 in the lower primary. Thus the schools classed as middle, as having classes which teach up to the vernacular middle examination, are really primary schools in respect of two-thirds of their attendance.

There is an increase in the number of candidates for the vernacular middle examination and in the number who passed. The popularity of this examination, on account of its being the obligatory educational qualification for appointment to inferior posts of Rs. 10 and upwards in the public service, leads to the frauds and mean devices which have lately been notorious. The Lieutenant-Governor stigmatises it as a matter of deepest regret that the difficulties attending popular instruction in this country should be increased by chicanery and despicable tricks on the part of masters and scholars.

It is noted that subordinate officials who have not passed the middle vernacular examination at schools, not unfrequently present themselves in later life in order to obtain the qualifying certificate.

Of State vernacular primary schools there were 3,878, with an enrolment of 140,395 scholars on the 31st March 1893. The

policy which has been pursued for some years back of improving the village schools, rather than of increasing their numbers, has, in the year under report, been marked by an increased enrolment of scholars. The average cost per scholar was something under Rs. 4 a year. The Director of Public Instruction remarks, that the great majority of the pupils attending village schools are of the higher castes, and that "the ultimate substratum, the actual tillers of the soil," remain absolutely untouched. It is a trite, but true remark of the Lieutenant-Governor's in this connection, that an education that frequently results in profound dislike of manual labour, is not an unmixed good. Nor is it good that primary education does not keep up with the progress made in higher education.

The special schools in the North West Provinces and Oudh comprise the three normal schools at Agra, Lucknow and Allahabad, for the training of teachers in vernacular schools, and the Industrial School at Lucknow. In the three normal schools there were 322 pupils, being fewer by 26 than the average enrolment in 1891-92. At the final examination of 1892-93, 53 received the "upper grade," and 91 the "lower grade" certificate. The number of "upper grade" teachers turned out from the normal schools has been considerably in excess of the demand. This is admittedly distinct mismanagement, and should be put a stop to.

The Industrial School at Lucknow is the first attempt in the North-West Provinces to combine manual training for native boys with elementary general education. So far as admissions are an evidence of success, the school is succeeding. But it is well observed that the real test of success will be the extent to which the students, on leaving the school, prove able and willing to engage in handicraft trades : and this cannot be known for some years. In rigorously restricting admission to the sons and near relatives of artizans, and in insisting that most of the school hours shall be spent in the workshop and the drawing room, the Government has done what it can to prevent boys resorting to the school for the gratuitous instruction which it gives in English and the Vernacular. The progress reported to have been made by the pupils in carpentry and drawing is encouraging : and if the school proves able to turn out cheap and suitable apparatus for elementary science teaching and gymnastic appliances, it will be of material service.

There is no general wish for female education, and so long as that is the attitude of the popular mind, little can be done. For the progress that has been made, the Government is indebted mainly to missionary efforts. In 1892-93 there were 128 vernacular primary schools for girls maintained by Government, or by municipalities, at a cost of Rs. 16,285, and with an enrolment of 2,880

scholars, all but 162 of whom were in the lower primary classes. The reports on the progress made by these schools are, as usual, not encouraging, though the ten schools maintained in the city of Lucknow by the Municipality are said, owing to the efforts of the Deputy Inspectress, Miss D'Abreu, to be an exception. There were also 128 aided vernacular schools for girls, with an enrolment of 4,417 scholars, and costing Rs. 59,412 a year, of which Rs. 16,730 was contributed by public funds. These schools are all the fruit of missionary enterprise. Many of the girls are said to be Native Christians ; but little is known as to the quality of the instruction, and grants-in-aid are given more on general repute than on hard and fast lines. Missionary societies also support 16 Anglo-Vernacular schools, with a total enrolment of 1,229 girls, at a total cost of Rs. 44,621, of which Rs. 13,956 is contributed by the State. These schools, which are attended exclusively by the daughters of Native Christians, are reported the most promising girls' schools in the province.

In 1892-93 there were 30 schools for Europeans and Eurasians receiving aid under the code, of which 16 were for boys and 14 for girls. Of the boys' schools, nine teach up to the High or Final Standard of the special code, the passing of which is recognised by the University as equivalent to the University Entrance examination ; two teach up to the Middle Standard only ; and five up to the Primary Standard. Of the girls' schools, nine are High schools, two middle, and three primary. The aggregate enrolment in these 30 schools was 1,329 boys and 942 girls, or 2,271 in all, against 2,271 in 1891-92. About one-half of this school-going population attended hill schools and one-half schools in the plains. The sum earned from Government by these schools was Rs. 90,346 in 1892-93, which, however, included Rs. 7,300 on account of school fees and boarding charges of indigent children placed by orders of the Director of Public Instruction, on the recommendations of District Magistrates, on the Government list. In 1891-92 the sum earned was Rs. 83,678, of which only Rs. 3,949 was on account of indigent children. The above figures are exclusive of special building and furniture grants, and are held to indicate that the State is not indifferent to the special claims of the European and Eurasian population domiciled in the province. Of the necessity for State aided schools for the poorest section of this population, such as the free schools in Allahabad, there can be no question. But doubt is expressed as to whether the aid given to high class European schools is in all cases required, and whether it does not tend, by keeping the scale of tuitional fees and boarding charges extremely low, to drive unaided private enterprise out of the field. Some of the State-aided schools in the hills

received the children of persons who might reasonably be expected to bear the entire cost of their children's education. Judging from one or two cases which have recently been before the Lieutenant-Governor, there appears to be a disposition on the part of persons or societies interested in schools of this kind, to think that their responsibility ends when the school has been started; and that the existence of a building debt, the absence of all endowment or private support, and a scale of fees too low to pay, are good grounds for invoking the help of Government. He thinks it desirable that such misconceptions of the duty of the State in this matter should be removed.

The results of the Primary, Middle, and High or Final Standard examinations of 1892 held under the special code applicable to European schools, were highly creditable to La Martinière College and the Girls' Diocesan School, Naini Tal. The La Martinière College for boys is not aided by the State, but the governing body have decided to adapt its curriculum to that prescribed for aided schools, and to send up candidates to the public examinations framed on that curriculum. The successes won by its pupils in these examinations show that the school has nothing to fear from public competition with others.

The last two paragraphs of the report deal briefly with the special schools for the education of Muhammadans, and the special school at Lucknow for the education of the sons and relatives of Oudh Talukdárs. The latter, which is better known as the Colvin Institute, is still in the experimental stage, but is fortunate in having secured the services of an exceptionally qualified Principal. The wards are reported to have made satisfactory progress both in their studies, and in riding and school sports. The list of special schools for Muhammadans enumerates 1,846 institutions, attended by 22,731 scholars, of whom 20,691 were Muhammadans. Of a total enrolment of 221,022 scholars of all creeds in State-aided or unaided "public" schools and colleges in the provinces on the 31st March 1893, 35,530 were Muhammadans. Of the 68,394 other scholars attending "private" schools, 30,144 were Muhammadans. Thus nearly one-half the Muhammadan school-going population is being instructed in private schools. It may be conjectured from the classified list of these schools, the greater number of which do not profess to take their pupils beyond the elementary stage, and many of which teach the Korán only, that their instructional value is small. Applying the test of the results of the public examinations held in 1892, the relative numbers of Muhammadans and Hindus among the passed candidates stand thus :—

					Hindus.	Muham- madans.
Master of Arts	...	...	...	...	16	2
Bachelor of Arts	...	...	...	...	105	24
Intermediate	...	...	...	...	213	52
Entrance	...	...	...	...	540	109
Middle	...	...	...	...	2,229	706
Thomason	{	Engineer	...	...	8	0
Engineering		Upper Subordinate	...	...	5	0
College.		Lower	...	...	32	5
		College Entrance	...	...	52	8

As the Muhammadan population stands to the Hindu in the proportion of 1 to 6 in the province, the above comparison of examination results is pronounced not unfavourable to it. It has to be borne in mind, on the one hand, that in these provinces the Muhammadans are, to a larger extent than the Hindus, dwellers in towns and dependent on clerkly or official pursuits; and, on the other, that many Muhammadans, through prejudice, apathy or poverty, will not give their children the education which the State has placed at their doors, and without which the lowest paid clerical post is not to be obtained.

General Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for 1892-93.

THE Report on Public Instruction in Bengal for the year 1892-93 is submitted by Dr. C. A. Martin, who received charge on the 27th December 1892, on the retirement of Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E.

There has been an increase in the number of pupils under instruction, *viz.*, from 1,392,371 to 1,400,067, in public institutions, and a decrease from 139,594 to 134,989 in private or indigenous institutions. On the whole, the number of pupils has increased from 1,531,965 to 1,535,056. At the same time the aggregate number of public institutions has decreased from 53,956 to 53,131, and that of private or indigenous institutions from 13,868 to 13,473. Among the schools classed as "Public Institutions" which adopt departmental standards, the number supported or aided by public funds has decreased from 43,972 to 41,697, and the number of unaided schools has risen from 9,984 to 11,434. The number of pupils receiving University and secondary education has increased from 202,510 to 207,192, while the number in primary schools, upper and lower taken together, has slightly fallen, *viz.*, from 1,123,560 to 1,123,225, the upper primary having gained almost as many pupils as the lower primary have lost.

The population of Bengal, excluding Kuch Bihar, Hill Tippera, and the Tributary States of Chota Nagpur, of which the schools are not included in the Educational returns, is 73,043,697, of whom 36,412,749 are males and 36,630,948

females. This gives, at the conventional rate of 15 per cent. 5,461,912 male children and 5,494,642 female children of a school-going age. Of the scholars on the Educational returns 1,431,528 are boys and 103,528 girls. Hence of all boys of a school-going age, 26·2, and of all girls of a school-going age, 19 per cent. are at school. The percentages in the previous year were 26·2 and 17, respectively. While it thus appears that one boy in every four throughout these Provinces is receiving instruction of some kind in schools, public or private, the Director's report shows great differences in the degrees of educational progress attained in the various districts and divisions. According to the figures given in that table, Hooghly shows 63·8 of the boys of a school-going age as actually at school, against 42·6 in the 24-Parganas; Balasore shows 48·2 per cent. as against 27·8 per cent. in Puri, while Cuttack shows 33·8 per cent. of its boys at school in 1892-93, against 43·3 in the preceding year. Patna gives 31·9 per cent. against half that (ratio) 15·8 in the neighbouring district of Gaya and 11·1 in Shahabad. Assuming the correctness of the figures, the great disparity in educational progress between the different districts and divisions might be accounted for by differences in material comfort or in the habits of the people, or in the varying degrees of interest in the subject and of energy displayed by the local educational and district officers.

The total expenditure on education, including all disbursements from public and private sources, such as the fees and contributions paid to the University and in all public schools and colleges, amounted to Rs. 96,45,408, as compared with Rs. 93,52,000 in the preceding year, an increase of Rs. 2,93,408. The expenditure from Provincial revenues decreased from Rs. 24,96,000 to Rs. 23,87,906, or by Rs. 1,08,094. Expenditure from all public sources, including District and Municipal Funds, decreased from Rs. 36,29,000 to Rs. 34,66,457, or by Rs. 1,62,543, while expenditure from private sources rose from Rs. 57,23,000 to Rs. 61,79,000, or by more than four-and-a-half lakhs. This is a satisfactory feature in the year's retrospect. Collegiate education cost less by Rs. 11,265; secondary education cost more by Rs. 1,19,810, primary education by Rs. 35,853, and female education by Rs. 1,10,085, of which the share from private sources came to Rs. 1,06,000. Under primary education District Funds contributed Rs. 45,000 less. This, however, is attributed to the fact that uncashed cheques, though issued, were not included in the accounts of the year. Under female education they contributed Rs. 2,000 more than in the preceding year. Municipal funds contributed under the two heads Rs. 8,000 more than in the preceding year. The expenditure by Municipalities on secondary education is still more

than 50 per cent. in excess of that on primary education, which means that children who cannot pay for education are refused it in order that children who can pay may receive it gratuitously. Admittedly, this is not as it should be.

The number of colleges stands at 34, the same as last year, divided into Government 11, Municipal 1, Aided 7, and Unaided 15. The students on the lists are returned as 5,443 instead of 5,225 as last year. The Aided colleges have, taken together, gained 70 students. The Government colleges show a decrease of 133 students. The Midnapore College had 39 instead of 46 youths under instruction. The Unaided institutions have attracted 288 more than last year.

Out of 3,766 youths reading on the 31st December 1892 for the F. A. Examination, 2,216 attended the examination: the proportion was lowest in Aided colleges. The percentage of successful candidates decreased from 44 to 37. In Government colleges the percentage was 44, in Aided colleges 36, and in Unaided colleges 36. The most successful Unaided Mufassal College was the Jagannath College, Dacca, which sent up 172 candidates, of whom 61 passed.

Of 118 candidates for the Mastership of Arts 54 passed, as compared with 46 out of 128 last year.

The suggestion made by Government in paragraph 7 of the Resolution on last year's Education Report, that the University authorities should make efforts to secure uniformity of standard by continuity in the examining body, was referred to the Syndicate by the Director of Public Instruction. That body have replied that they are very sensible of the importance of attaining and of preserving uniformity in the standard of examination, but they think that the present system secures this as far as is practically possible, while at the same time it enables the Syndicate to exercise a control in the matter which it is desirable they should retain.

The number of candidates who took up the A or Literature Course has risen this year from 967, to 987, while that of the students of the B or Science Course increased from 182 to 220. The increase in the former case has been two per cent.; in the latter about 21; thus showing the growing popularity of the B Course. On the other hand the percentage of success is 1 in the A Course and 42 in the B Course.

The relative position of the different classes of secondary schools remains the same as before, institutions under public management standing at the top, with 81 per cent. of their candidates passed, the Aided schools next with 66 per cent. and the Unaided schools last, with 59 per cent.

Sir Antony MacDonnell sees much reason in the Director's view that the vernacular schools of the Dacca Division are

being stifled owing to the scholarships being awarded in that division on the aggregate marks obtained, so that students even with a smattering of English get a great advantage over the vernacular candidates, and will be prepared to consider the question when proposals are submitted in a definite form.

In para. 60 of his Report Dr. Martin gives a table showing the progress made in drawing in those Entrance schools in which drawing-masters have been appointed. Out of 13 pupils from nine schools who took up drawing, only two passed, both of whom came from the Hare School. The moral is that the artistic sense cannot be, like a Course of "public instruction in Bengal," acquired by rote.

Almost every high school under the department is supplied with a gymnastic teacher, one teacher sometimes working in a group of schools, two or three months at a time in each school of the group. Many high English schools under private management have followed the example of the zilla schools, according to their resources. The middle and primary schools mostly satisfy themselves with indigenous games which, though not costly in their apparatus, are none the less useful in promoting muscular development. The Boards of Nadia and Midnapore are making commendable efforts to introduce physical training in middle and primary schools, and other Boards might follow their example with advantage. It is noticed with satisfaction that Mr. Growse at Faridpur, Mr. Greer at Tippera, Mr. Oldham, the Commissioner of Chittagong, and the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners of Chota Nagpur organised inter-school cricket and football matches, which they encouraged by their presence, and the Lieutenant-Governor agrees that kindly sympathy like this will do much to popularise games among the pupils. The Society for the higher training of young men, for which a grant of Rs. 100 a month was sanctioned during the year, has given prominence to the question of physical training, but nothing practical has yet been done—nor will be, until the meaning of practicality is understood by the people of Bengal.

The Director reports that there has been a perceptible change for the better in the *morale* of school-boys, and that serious breaches of discipline and offences against morality were in most divisions very rare. Nevertheless some very disgraceful cases of breach of discipline and of disrespect towards teachers and other constituted authorities occurred in Noakhali and in Backergunge.

The importance of boarding-houses as a powerful factor in promoting school discipline has not been lost sight of. Most Government institutions have attached boarding-houses, in

which the pupils live under the charge of one or more of the resident teachers. Schools under private management follow the example of Government schools, whenever their means allow and the exigencies of the localities require such establishments.

There was a steady advance in the numbers of upper primary schools and pupils, while there was a loss of 1,090 lower primary schools and of 4,672 pupils. The fluctuations in the numerical statistics of lower primary schools originated, as explained by Dr. Martin, from different causes, *viz.*, the state of the public health, the price of food-grains, floods or drought—in fact all the agricultural circumstances of the year; but, allowing for these considerations, it is still unsatisfactory to find that there has been little or no progress in primary education during the past five years. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that, in a country in which only one boy in every four of a school-going age is learning to read and write and the other three are absolutely illiterate, the statistics of primary education ought not to show merely a few more one year and a few less the next, but they should show increases in all years. He agrees in the opinion that the loss in primary education during the year points to a decline in efficiency and activity of the inspecting staff, and thinks that, if more money were spent throughout the Province in this branch of education, the result would be increased numbers at school.

In the Resolution accompanying the Report stress is once again laid on the ruling that, when due provision has been made for the required number of primary schools, but not before, any further sum which a Municipality is desirous of expending on secondary education can be so devoted.

The Bihar Industrial School was opened during the year. The total capital of this school is Rs. 2,50,411, of which Rs. 2,39,900 is invested in Government securities and Rs. 10,511 deposited in the Bank of Bengal. The monthly establishment charges amount to Rs. 182, and the total cost came to Rs. 16,011, the chief portion of which was devoted to the erection of a building. The institution had 32 pupils on the rolls, divided into two departments—the apprentice with 20 pupils and the artizan with 12. Twenty-five of the pupils received stipends varying from Rs. 7 to Rs. 3 a month. The course of instruction includes Arithmetic, Algebra, Euclid, Drawing and Carpentry. The management is vested in a Committee with the Commissioner of the Patna Division as President. A new Industrial School was opened during the year at Pabna; the Comilla Artizan School was brought on to the books of the department, and a new technical school was opened at Noakhali.

Dr. Martin believes that District Boards and other local Educational authorities are becoming alive to the importance of technical education, and that, year after year, there has been not only an advance in the number of such schools, but a steady endeavour to place the existing ones on a better footing. Sir Antony MacDonnell hopes that this is only the beginning of a great movement. Higher education, he declares, has now taken such firm root in Bengal, that it has ceased to require from Government the same fostering care as formerly. The educational authorities are enjoined now to pay special attention to the preparation of the youth of the country for new industrial and scientific pursuits, and to the fostering of primary education among the poorer classes.

If it lay with Sir Antony MacDonnell, we are informed, to decide whether the Sibpur Workshops should remain under the control of the Public Works Department or be transferred to the Educational Department, he would have no hesitation in deciding in favour of the transfer. Under the Public Works Department the Workshops serve no substantial purpose, while they compete with private enterprise. Under the Educational Department they would form a necessary and most valuable adjunct to a broad scheme of technical instruction for the Province.

A material advance in female education is reported. The number of girls' schools increased from 2,706 to 2,821, and their pupils from 54,199 to 56,579. The number of girls in boys' schools also increased from 32,749 to 34,200. The net gain of schools was therefore 115, and of pupils 3,831. The only Government schools are the school department of the Bethune College and the Eden Female School in Dacca. The *Bethune School* passed two girls at the Entrance examination, the Dacca Female School sent up two, of whom one passed. Mrs. Wheeler, the Inspectress of Schools, furnished examination returns of 5,537 pupils; the number of schools examined by her was 104, of which 46 are in Calcutta. In Calcutta there were 150 primary girls' schools with 5,872 pupils against 162 schools with 5,516 pupils in the preceding year. Arrangements have recently been made and rules framed under which the grants to schools in and near Calcutta will be revised, so as to bring them to some extent into proportion with the actual work done. The special standards for girls' scholarships that were originally decided for Calcutta and its neighbourhood, could not be largely extended to the mufassal for want of funds. It is a matter for congratulation to read that, in the last examination under these standards, out of 276 examinees, 236 passed against 175 out of 292 in the preceding year.

Though the total number of schools remained unchanged,

there was an increase of 346 scholars during the year. With the exception of a slight falling off in 1886, the number has steadily increased since 1883.

The total number of Muhammadan pupils decreased from 448,847 to 447,485, or by 1,362, and the percentage from 29·2 to 29·1. In public institutions the Muhammadan pupils increased by 4,430. A large increase, *viz.*, 3,094, of Muhammadan pupils, took place in the upper primary schools. The private institutions sustained a loss of 5,792 Muhammadan pupils. In advanced private schools there was a loss of 1,793 Muhammadan pupils, while in the elementary schools there was a gain of 2,753. In other schools not coming up to departmental standards, there was a loss of 56 pupils.

The number of passes gained by Muhammadan candidates was greater in 1892-93 than in the preceding year at all the examinations except the First Examination in Arts. The percentages also of Muhammadans among successful candidates advanced except in the case of the First Arts Examination. The Lieutenant-Governor considers that, though these results show some slight improvement, they are disappointing when the proportion which the Muhammadan element bears to the total population is considered. The ratio per cent. of Muhammadan pupils at schools, of all kinds, to the total number of Muhammadan pupils of a school-going age, is 25 against 29 per cent. in the case of Hindus. Of pupils receiving secondary education, 81 per cent. are Hindus and only 14 per cent. Muhammadans, while of students receiving collegiate education, 90 per cent. are Hindus and only 5 per cent. Muhammadans.

In the general results of the central examination of the Madrassas 169 out of 313 passed this year, as compared with 224 out of 270 last year. The total number of candidates increased by 43, but the total number of passes diminished by 55. Three of the seven Madrassas are maintained from Provincial revenues; the rest from the Mohsin Fund. The 1,722 pupils at the seven Madrassas cost Government Rs. 25,231, and the total expenditure on their account was Rs. 59,933. Physical training is receiving attention both in the Calcutta and in the Nawab of Murshidabad's Madrassas. On the subject of the comparative backwardness of Muhammadans in education, especially of the higher kind, the Director remarks:—

“One of the most depressing influences which have had the effect of discouraging the advance of education among the Mahammadan community, arises from the fact that so little has hitherto been done towards giving employment to Musalm in gentlemen in the Department of Public Instruction. This is a matter which I have recently brought to the notice of Government in a separate report, so I need not do more than allude to it here. Another matter upon which I wish to

make a passing remark is the constitution of the District Boards, upon which in the majority of cases Muhammadans are not represented in such proportions as their numbers would seem to demand. This is a difficulty for which, seemingly, a remedy might easily be found. The Muhammadan Assistant Inspector for Patna and Bhagalpur Divisions, pointing to the fact that some of the Boards in Bihar 'have no Muhammadan members at all, and some perhaps only one or two,' goes on to say :—'The result has been just what could be anticipated, with such imperfect and one-sided representation, so that even in some cases the presence of a European Magistrate-Chairman, with all his powers and endeavours, cannot do anything to help the cause of Muhammadans and check the growing tendency to retard it.'"

The number of pupils of aboriginal races under tuition increased from 29,657 to 31,712 or by 2,055. The Christians advanced by 964 and the non-Christians by 1,091. The divisions in which the aborigines chiefly live are Burdwan, Bhagalpur and Chota Nagpur. In the first of these there were 3,426, in Bhagalpur 5,231, and in Chota Nagpur 17,579, of whom 4,424 are Christians and 22,812 are non-Christians. The five missions in Chota Nagpur maintained 136 schools, as compared with 146 in 1891-92, and the pupils attending them decreased from 4,194 to 3,920 or by 274. The aboriginal pupils gained 133 more passes at the Entrance and other examinations than in the previous year.

Under the heading the figures for the last five years are as follows :—

	1888-89.	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.
Schools ...	11,709	13,867	13,387	13,868	13,473
Pupils ...	117,284	139,603	132,057	139,594	134,989

The total number of institutions decreased by 395 and the pupils attending them by 4,605. The largest decrease was in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and is attributed by Mr. Oldham to the fact that foreigners are imported to supervise education.

The advanced schools for teaching Arabic or Persian decreased by 77 and their pupils by 1,933, while the Sanskrit tols increased by 102, but their pupils diminished by 202. Under the orders of Government Mahamahopadhyaya Mahesa Chandra Nyayaratna, C.I.E., visited the Sanskrit tols in the Cuttack, Puri and Balasore districts. His visit to Orissa proved a success, and evoked much enthusiasm in the cause of Sanskrit teaching in that province. Under his auspices three Associations have been established for the promotion of the study of Sanskrit.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice in the Punjab and its Dependencies during the year 1892.

TAKING a period of seven years (1886—1892) the number of suits instituted annually has averaged about 245,400. In the year 1888, the number rose to its highest point, namely, 257,975, and in the year 1892, the lowest figure of the period has

been reached, namely, 239,028. The number of suits instituted represent 11 per thousand of the population. In Simla, which is altogether exceptional, the proportion was 46 per thousand. The number of suits per thousand of the population was above the average in the following districts besides Simla :—

Gujránwála	...	...	17	per 1,000 of the population.
Amritsar, Muzaffargarh	...	...	16	" "
Siáلكot	...	...	15	" "
Jullundur, Lahore, Jhang	...	...	14	" "
Hoshiárpur	...	...	13	" "
Delhí, Ludhiána, Bannu	...	...	12	" "

The Ferozepore, Ráwalpindi, Gujrát, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Gházi Khan districts stood at 11 per thousand. In the Gurgáon, Karnál, Hissár and Hazára districts the number was five per thousand or less.

There has been a decrease, as compared with the figure for the year 1891, which was itself above the average, of 7,331. but the number is only 1,651 below that for 1890. In dealing with such large numbers, fluctuations of three or four per cent, may be expected. The cholera and fever which prevailed for several months of the year under report over large areas of the Punjab, and the scarcity in some parts, sufficiently account for the general decrease in institutions.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

Women of Renown, Nineteenth Century Studies. By G. BARNETT SMITH Author of "The History of the English Parliament," Critical Biographies of Shelley and Victor Hugo, "Life and Enterprises of Ferdinand De Lesseps," etc. London: W. H. Allen & Co, Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1893.

EMOTIONALISM would appear to be the passport to Mr. Barnett Smith's sympathies, as displayed in this collocation of *Women of Renown*.

The eight modern instances whose right to that distinction he analyses are drawn from different strata of society and differ widely as the poles in their conduct of life and their concepts of Art, but all have this feature in common and in marked degree. His choice of suitable models has been eclectic, and is narrow; does not for instance include Lady Caroline Lamb, Letitia Landon, Emily Brontë, the Hon'ble Mrs. Norton, or many other notorieties of the period indicated, who were quite as æsthetically disposed and intense (though not so vulgar) as the Countess of Blessington and Lady Morgan. Perhaps they were not respectable enough for their life-records to be bound in the same covers with those of Rachel and George Sand; perhaps their modes and moods did not march with his predilections; perhaps he seasonably remembered that a big book is a great evil. Whatever his motives may have been, his title page stands in need of amendment. "Studies of Eight Notable Women" would have been more appropriate.

Happily, Mr. Barnett Smith, although of sympathetic temperament, is not himself too emotional for the rôle of fair and discerning critic. His judgments are generally sound; and they are supported by appropriate citations. Moreover, without pretence of being a humourist, he is not deficient in sense of humour; *à propos*, for instance, of Frederika Bremer's nose, which, resenting her efforts to reduce it to reasonable dimensions, revenged itself by becoming more formidable than it had been before resort was had to constrictions, and putting on a fine high colour; and her disconsolate parting (ætat 17) from her first sweetheart, when she gave him one of her curl-papers as a souvenir, and "sighed his name in her heart—but very calmly." Of this young woman's novel *Nína*, it is remarked that some of its characters behave in an idiotic way, but that, when everything has been discounted, there is still plenty of human interest left in it.

The story, in short, is true to nature. In middle age the gushing Frederika assumed a mantle of priggishness. In *Hertha* she is by way of preaching from the strong-minded woman platform, and vociferates, with the social, political and educational rights of the subjected sex for text. A visit to America, where she lectured and was made much of, established her faith in her vocation to this mission. She was profoundly religious, and charitable in the fullest sense of that much abused word:—

Humanitarian projects where not advocated by Miss Bremer with the pen alone. She threw herself heart and soul into the efforts made by the women of Sweden to establish a Refuge and Reformatory for neglected children. Her personal aid was forthcoming for this excellent project, and to convince others of its necessity and usefulness, she wrote a statement of her views on the problems requiring to be grappled with. While her immediate object was to call forth, or to rouse the consciousness of social dignity and worth in woman's life and sphere of activity, considered from a Christian and social point of view, her inner aim went beyond the immediate visible and stated purpose, and she sought to implant seed which should strike root and grow like the grain hidden in the earth. She appealed to the motherly element in society to feel, think, labour, and, above all, to take actual charge of the destitute children—to save them, and through them to ensure the future of the nation. A refuge was necessary for children who were merely unfortunate, and thrown by a variety of circumstances upon the world. Such an institution would prevent them from becoming criminals. For older, depraved children, a Reformatory was absolutely necessary, and it must have an imperative moral tendency. It must be an educational institution. 'It becomes to the young person everything or nothing. The State must here, for the sake of its own good and for its own security, meet the prodigal son as the father did in the Gospel. Mercy must there go before justice.'

Miss Bremer succeeded in establishing the desired Refuge and Reformatory, and lent helpful hand and purse to the foundation of many other benevolent institutions. Her sister, Charlotte, helped her by acting as drag on the hind wheel of the too rapidly driven coach. She held (with Pope) that a woman "Should seek but Heaven's applauses and her own;" that her mission in life was the quiet and noble one of home. There were, she admitted, exceptions, but this ought to be regarded as the rule, for God designed woman to be wife, mother, bringer-up of children in the right way. She maintained that, woman's true mission and sphere of activity having been clearly pointed out to her by nature, she may, if she rightly understands and follows after that sign, become educator of the whole human race, and, as such, be of infinitely greater service to the State and her native country, than she could be by dabbling in politics, constituting herself an Inspector of Education, or holding any employment under Government.

Frederika's literary criticisms were sometimes *ad rem acu*. After reading Lord Brougham's *Statesmen* she remarked—

I longed to see *characters*, distinguished men, and I see before me only—*orators*. Lord Brougham appears to me to be so preoccupied by the *speeches* of his statesmen and their talents in that line, that he almost overlooks their actions as moral people; or at, any rate, looks upon *that* characteristic as a secondary consideration, alluding to it only in passing.

The following slightly paradoxical summing up must be left to explain itself:—

Frederika Bremer has been compared with Jane Austen; but the Swedish writer was the intellectual superior of the English. Though not so great as a novelist, her culture was wider, and her thought deeper; she had also a more vigorous imagination, and a greater command both of the springs of humour and of pathos. She had the delicacy of perception and love of quiet home-life which distinguished Jane Austen; but she could not rival the style of the English novelist, a style that is inimitable, but one likewise as difficult to define as it is easy to appreciate; nor could she lay claim to Jane Austen's marvellous insight into character, with its thousand little shades and divergences. But Frederika Bremer was an authoress of whom any country or people might be proud.

Because, stalwart Thomas Carlyle excepted, all the literary notabilities, and all the prominent politicians of her day frequented Lady Blessington's *salon*, Mr. Barnet Smith concludes that she must have possessed intellectual gifts and graces. Her many books show no trace of them. The explanation of her social ascendancy strikes us as more simple. Harking back to the keen-eyed little philosopher—poet of Twickenham—, we get it in one line: "And beauty draws us with a single hair." Then, too, Lady Blessington was a full-blown peeress in a generation pre-eminently snobbish. Furthermore, she had kissed the blarney stone. Conjunction of beauty and blarney, with snobbish surroundings and a dash of Bohemian sauce thrown in, sufficiently account for the concourse of *ennuyé* club-men seeking dissipation of the blues in her Ladyship's drawing rooms. Her circle only included men: ladies fought shy of it. Alluding to the frequency of Tom Moore's appearances in it, our essayist writes:—"Anacreon the second was very fond of the homage and adulation of lovely women." Byron saw through this modern Aspasia's artificialities. She retaliated by pronouncing him too gay and flippant for a poet. Incompatibilities of temper and slight* acquaintanceship did not hinder her from publishing, on her return from Italy, *Conversations with Lord Byron*, whereby His Lordship's chronic vanity was appeased:—

Lady Blessington told Madden, that on the occasion of a masked ball to be given in Genoa, Byron stated his intention of going there, and asked her to accompany him. Joking, *en badinant*, about the

* The Countess Guiccioli is the authority for the statement that their intercourse was slight. There could be no better one, though Mr. Barnett Smith thinks otherwise.

character she was to go in, some one suggested that of Eve, upon which Byron said : 'As some one must play the devil, I will do it.' Shortly before Lady Blessington left Genoa the poet composed a series of stanzas upon her.

Byron one day made her ladyship a present of a breastpin containing a small cameo of Napoleon Buonaparte – and next day sent a note requesting its return, as he was superstitious with regard to memorials with a *point*. He sold his yacht, the *Bolivar* to Lord Blessington, 'and it was subsequently considered by Lady Blessington that the poet drove a hard bargain with her husband.' *Tantæne animis cœlestibus, &c.*

Extravagance was the fascinating Countess's ruling passion. After her husband's death she lived in London at the rate of from five to six thousand pounds a year, when her income was but two thousand. As a means of bolstering up her failing fortunes, ministering to her love of display, and supporting her *cher ami*, the costly Count D'Orsay, she took to what she was pleased to call literature—wholesale output of Keepsakes, Friendship's Offerings, Books of Beauty, "Children of the Nobility"—and the like panderings to snobbery. Of such was, from such came, her renown. The inevitable crash supervened in 1849, when with one consent money-lenders, jewellers, lace-vendors, upholsterers, gas companies, began to press their claims in earnest, and put in executions at Gore House. "It was a long time before the gay Count (D'Orsay) could be persuaded that the game was up, but when at last he realised the fact, he set out for Paris, attended by his valet with a single portmanteau. *Sic transit gloria D'Orsay!*" His stay and support wrote verse as well as prose, but it was—

"Of that intolerable kind to which neither gods nor columns grant permission to exist ; and what is singular, all the verses made by poets and poetasters under the inspiration of her society have a leaden dulness about them which is almost preternatural.' Moore was no more successful than Wilson Croker, and Byron himself no more successful than 'Dr. William Beattie, M. D.,' who discharged three or four heavy pieces at Lady Blessington and himself. I have gone through a great deal of her ladyship's own poetry—I mean verse—and can honestly find none of it worthy of quotation.

Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, is, in many of her aspects, a companion picture to the other Irishwoman whose story we have glanced at above. She was as theatrical, as ostentatious, as Leo Hunterian, and a good deal more conceited. We find her, after some disparaging remarks about Jane Porter's personal appearance and habiliments, purring complacently :—

I am the reverse of all this, *et sans vanité* the best dressed woman wherever I go. Last night I wore a blue satin, trimmed fully with magnificent point lace, and stomacher, *à la Sevigné*, light blue velvet hat and feather, with an *aigrette* of sapphires and diamonds! *Voilà!* The party at the Murchison's—Lord Jeffrey, of the *Edinburgh*

Review—Lockhart, of the *Quarterly*; Hallam, *Middle Ages*; Milman, the poet; Mrs. Somerville, etc., etc. Lord Jeffrey came up to me, and we had such a flirtation. When he comes to Ireland, we are to go to Donnybrook Fair together; in short, having cut me down with his tomahawk as a *reviewer*, he smothers me with roses as a *man*, and so he comes to see me. I always say of my enemies before we meet, "Let me at them."

There you have Lady Morgan* in a nutshell, barring her aptitude for always keeping a keen look-out on the main chance. Her hardness in driving a bargain was, throughout her career, provocative of unseemly squabbles with her publishers. Starting in life as a governess, she passed gallantly under fire of infructuous † flirtations until (when not far off 30), patronised by the Abercorn family, by whom she was introduced to her predestined husband, a London physician, with a good practice, they applied themselves to accomplishment of the predestination with all the fervour proper to the business of match-making, promising the prudent "wild Irish girl" that, if she accepted the staid, sedate, middle-aged widower as her husband, they would be friends for life to both. "The wild Irish girl" wanted afterwards to make out that the marriage was forced on her by a stratagem similar to that by which Benedict and Beatrice, in "All's Well that Ends Well," were brought together. The pretence is too flimsy to deceive any one; and only indicates her Ladyship's inveterate proneness for what children call make believe. She was a clever actress when her own fortunes were at stake. Secure in the possession of £5,000, safely invested, she affected coyness, and told the Duke of Richmond, the affable Viceroy of that time:—"The rumours respecting Dr. Morgan's *denouement* may or may not be true, but this at least I can with all candour and sincerity assure your Grace, that I shall remain to the last day my of life in single blessedness, unless some more tempting inducement than the mere change from Miss Owenson to Mistress Morgan be offered me." His Grace good-naturedly took the hint, and, by virtue of the powers attaching to this high office, knighted the Doctor on the spot. It only remained then for the lawyers to engross a marriage contract settling the bride's £5,000

* Sarah Tytler, in a recent work, describes one of her characters in these terms:—"Mrs. Lumsden was not half so popular a person as her husband was. If he was short and square, she was shorter and squarer, well nigh to dwarfishness. She had been compared in personal appearance to Sydney Lady Morgan. In face Mrs. Lumsden had the disproportionately large head which is often present in deformity."

† After her death, a packet of love letters was found by her executors, endorsed in her own hand—"Sir Charles Montague Ormsby, Bart., one of the most brilliant wits, determined *roues*, agreeable persons, and ugliest men of his day." She would have married him in spite of his ugliness and bad character, if only he had had money: it was failure in that respect that stood in the way of linking her fortunes with his.

strictly on herself, and stipulating that she should have, in the future, sole and independent control over her own earnings. These financial details arranged, Glorvina was no longer coy, but loved the husband of her choice with most devoted love. In time he became useful to her as a collaborateur, compiled statistics for her use, marshalled facts for her, executed all the laborious and ungrateful part of the work she got all the credit for. The part of it she undertook was French polishing, imparting grace and a savour of social distinction to accounts of tours in France and Italy, skim milk of politics, a *Life of Salvator Rosa*, *Dramatic Scenes and Sketches*, etc., etc.

To show the sharp difference of opinion which always prevailed among the reviewers of her ladyship's works, one authority pronounced these *Scenes* to be 'very poor in matter and affected in style'; while another held that they were 'written in a very forcible and effective manner.' The truth, as usual, lay between the two. It was the writer's aim to show 'the condition of Ireland as a country, and the state of the Irish peasantry, their sorrows and ignorance; the evil influence of agents and middlemen, in the absenteeism of the landlords and the clashing pretensions of the High Protestant Church party with the priests.' She was anxious to demonstrate 'the ignorance and misconception which prevailed in England of the real condition and necessities of the country; the difficulties, almost impossibilities, thrown in the way of Irish landlords wishing to do their duty, and to see with their own eyes what measures of reform and relief were urgently needed.' Notwithstanding the serious purport of the sketches, however, they were by no means destitute of humour.

Turning to social matters for a moment, here is an entry from Lady Morgan's diary: "The party at Lady Cork's had some curious contrasts. There was Lady Charleville herself, the centre of a circle in her great chair. Lady Dacre, author of everything: plays, poems, novels, etc., etc.; Lady Charlotte Campbell, author of *Conduct is Fate*; Miss Jane Porter (*Thaddeus of Warsaw*), cold as ever, though the muse of tragedy in appearance; Mrs. Bulwer Lytton, the muse of comedy; Lady Stepney, the author of *The New Road to Ruin*; lots of lay men and women, a crowd of saints and sinners. The men were still more odd. Sir Charles Wetherell; Prince Cimitelli; D'Israeli, who ran off as I skipped in; some other remarkables and one young man, Lord Oxmantown, an impersonation of a 'Committee of the House.'"

As a sample of her Ladyship's society manner, we are told that, on one occasion, the Earl of Derby (the "Rupert of debate,") when he was Mr. Stanley, and Chief Secretary for Ireland, said to her, with a half sneer on his face: "Oh, Lady Morgan, you are a great Irish historian; can you give me a census of Ireland in the reign of Henry II?" She affected confusion, and replied, "Well no, Mr. Stanley, not accurately; but may I presume to ask you what is the census of the English people in the reign of William IV?" Like other people of her calibre, she was unable to distinguish between impertinence and wit. With her ignorance of a subject was never a bar to expositing it. Mr. Barnett Smith admits frankly that her

excursus, *The Missionary*, "was only worthy of the Minerva Press." Its subject is the attempt of a Spanish priest to convert a Brahman priestess. This ends in their falling in love with one another's fine eyes, and an elopement, after several warmly coloured love scenes. The book is said to abound in pictures of Indian life and expositions of Oriental lore. It need not surprise us that Lady Morgan considered *The Missionary* her masterpiece. Not long before her death she revised the story for the press. She wrote during her lifetime seventy volumes of sorts, for which her publishers paid her handsomely, and in 1837 Lord Melbourne granted her a Civil List Pension of £300 per annum. Judged by a monetary standard, she did well with her life. Born about 1780, she died in 1859, gay and debonaire to the last. Her works have not lived after her.

Like Lady Morgan, Elisa Rachel Fèlix, the "Rachel" of the Theatrical world, whose name is still one to conjure with, was fond of driving hard bargains and making money.

At the house of a friend, Madame S., she saw a guitar of most respectable antiquity, the original colour of which had long ago disappeared under the thick black crust with which time had coated it. The actress was so drawn towards the guitar, that the owner presented it to her. Some time afterwards the guitar, enveloped in a beautiful silk net, was seen in Rachel's boudoir by a certain Count, who enquired what it was. Rachel is said to have unblushingly replied:—

'That is the humble guitar, the faithful companion with which, in the days of my childhood, I earned the scanty pittance bestowed on the poor little street-singer.'

The Count was at once wild to possess the inestimable treasure.

'Oh,' said Rachel, 'I can never, *never* consent to part with it.'

'I must have it at any cost; do not deny me this gift, to be held as a sacred relic, and permit me to offer you, as a poor exchange, the set of diamonds and rubies you appeared to admire some days ago at the jewellers.'

'Ah, well!' quoth the tragic muse, heaving a deep sigh, 'since you will have it, I cannot refuse you.'

The jewels were worth about 50,000 francs. On the credit side of her account, with humanity let it be set down, that she could be nobly generous, unostentatiously charitable when her heart was touched. And she had a great heart; one that the faults implanted in her by the sordid guides of her youthful years, and her self-acquired waywardnesses and imperiousnesses obscured the valours of. Her father was an itinerant German Jew pedlar; her mother a harpy, of unappeasable greed. Through force of character, as much as dramatic talent, she wrested triumphs from Parisian salons and Parisian theatres alike. 'Great ladies caressed her, and her bearing was so dignified, and yet so attractive, that Theodore de Banville said, her most marvellous creation was neither Hermione, nor Phèdre, nor Tisbé: it was that *chef d'œuvre*, worthy of Balzac and Gavarni, Rachel Parisienne.'

She was admitted into the exclusive society of the Abbaye aux Bois, where Madame Récamier, no longer rich, beautiful, or young, succeeded in keeping around her a large circle of illustrious admirers, and where Alfred de Musset was greatly impressed by her originality—a cultured circle, unanimously charmed with the young actress's simple dignity, unassuming manners, ready wit. Off the stage she had a horror of declamations; on it, the unassuming manner fell away from her; she was translated, inspired:—

“Phèdre, the culminating point of French tragedy, has ever been looked on as a test play for all great actresses. The whole range of human feelings, love, fear, grief, jealousy, revenge, repentance: all that can move and excite an audience, are represented in three stages of development by one central figure; and yet, though a prey to all these passions, the daughter of Pasiphae, both in Euripides' and Racine's tragedy, remains an elevated person, victim of the persecutions of Aphrodite. Being thus absolved from moral responsibility, she is likewise saved from moral obliquity. Racine seldom allows himself thus to adopt a Greek myth, and it is hardly necessary to show how enormously the complex idea of the interference of the gods increases the difficulty of giving an idea of the character to a modern audience; for, although a woman in her weakness and her sin, Phèdre must be almost divine in her sorrow and her love. And it was from this point of view that Rachel so immeasurably surpassed all other actresses. Sarah Bernhardt, who, in this *role*, has most nearly approached her, is weak, unequal, passionate. We see all the viciousness of Phèdre, and none of her grandeur. She breaks herself to pieces against the huge difficulties of the conception, and does not succeed in moving us. In the second scene, where Phèdre, thinking her husband is dead, confesses her incestuous passion to the object of it, Sarah Bernhardt never rises above the level of an *aventurière* or a *Frou-Frou*. Rachel was the mouth-piece of the gods; no longer a free agent, she poured forth every epithet of adoration that Aphrodite could suggest, clambering up higher and higher in the intensity of her emotion, whilst her audience hung breathless, riveted on every word, and only dared to burst forth in thunders of applause after she had vanished from their sight.”

“Her Phèdre gave rise to the saying by an observer, ‘she does not act—she suffers.’ It was by common consent her masterpiece—‘an apocalypse of human agony not to be forgotten by anyone who ever witnessed it.’”

Rachel brazenly defied the proprieties; in 1884 she bore a son to Count Walewski, who openly acknowledged the parentage. It is a prerogative of great actresses to set conventional rules at defiance, and to be absolved where sinners outside the pale of theatrical fame would be stoned. Rachel was *persona grata* with many respectable people who would have looked askance at Mary Magdalen. In 1853 she played at St. Petersburg, where the Empress of Russia gave her a pelisse of the most costly furs in the world, the Czar a diamond corsage ornament of immense value, and her Impresario 300,000 francs, as her share of the profits of the tour.

On her return to France she hastened to Eaux Bonnes, in the Pyrenees, where her sister Rebecca was dying of consumption. She continued to make flying visits to her until the end, which came quite suddenly. Rachel was chatting with some friends in another room, when the maid Rose rushed in to say that Rebecca had been seized with a paroxysm of coughing, and was in great danger. Rising from her seat with a bound, Rachel appeared to seek for some cause for this terrible blow that was falling upon her, and her eye lighted upon a rosary blessed by the Pope, which she had always worn as a bracelet since her visit to Rome. Realising now that she had attached a talismanic virtue to the beads, she tore them from her arm and dashed them to the ground, frantically exclaiming, 'It is this fatal gift that has entailed this curse upon me'! To her intense grief, Rebecca died, and on the 23rd of June her body was conveyed to Paris for interment.

We started by saying that emotionalism is a marked ingredient in the character of all the "Women of Renown" limned in the essays we are considering. Exception must be made to this generalisation in the case of George Eliot. Mr. Barnett Smith has nothing new to tell us about that strong, manly soul and its developments. His estimate of George Elliot's capacity and its exhibition in her novels strikes us as singularly at fault, when it puts the author of *Romola* and *Middlemarch* on a lower plane than Charles Dickens. Nor is he much happier in his appraisal of George Sand's work and worth. In the course of it he remarks:—"Only one person in this century has exhibited lofty genius with unparalleled fecundity, and that was Victor Hugo."

The essay on Mary Carpenter should have special interest for Indians and Anglo-Indians.

A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures. BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S., Late of the Bengal Civil Service; and one of the Judges of the Chief Court of the Punjab. With Map, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

MR. Baden-Powell deserves the thanks of many of us for his very able *Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures*, which is a marvel of comprehensive conciseness. Starting with the village as a primary unit, the learned ex-Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, briefly traces the history and development of our variant land tenures, exhibits their salient differentiations, and the incidences of revenue assessment and collection. The value of the book to lawyers, as a compendious synopsis of an intricate and contradictory subject, is great—not less so to law students reading up for examinations.

Planters and commercial men interested in indigo, tea, coffee, &c., should be interested in its pages. If only Paget, M.P., and English sympathisers with National Congress bunkum would read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, the hands of the Government of India would be sensibly strengthened, since "to understand the Land Revenue system is to gain a greater knowledge of Indian Government than could be acquired in any other way." The following paras. from Mr. Baden-Powell's work regarding the origin of landlord villages are instructive :—

Landlord villages derived from three principal sources—

1. *Single founders, Grantees, Revenue farmers.*—If we first roughly and generally classify the known origins of landlord bodies, we shall observe three great sources from which some joint-villages have been derived. One is the growth, in, or over an existing village, of some one man who obtained a grant, or elevated himself by energy and wealth, or who developed a position out of a contract for revenue farming; such a grantee—or any adventurer, may also found and establish a new village in the waste, with exactly the same results.

2. *Dismemberment of ruling Chiefs' houses.*—Closely connected, with the first head, is another under which many high caste or quasi-aristocratic village-bodies, descended from a common ancestor, may be grouped. I need hardly enlarge on the fact that under the continual succession of wars, invasions, and internecine struggles, which mark the history of every province, royal, princely and chieftains' houses were always gaining the lordship of territories, and again losing it;—gathering head, founding and acquiring dominions, and, in time, losing them, while the houses lost rank and were broken up. And when any of the greater conquests, like those of the Mughal and the Maráthá powers occurred, the petty Hindu and other principalities, all over the country, would go to pieces; cadets of families would break off and assume independence; and territorial rule would be lost; but the family would contrive to cling by timely submission, and by favour of the conqueror, to relics of his possessions, no longer as *ruling chiefs* but as *landlords*. This fact is universal, and accounts for more varieties of land-tenure in India than almost any other. We have already seen (pp. 40-1) how the Rájá, subdued under the Mughal arms, would be accepted by the Emperor as a kind of revenue-agent (though he still called himself Rájá), and thus he ended by becoming landlord where he was once ruler. The same circumstances enabled scions and cadets of noble houses, or petty chiefs whose power was destroyed, to keep a footing in the individual villages of the old territory.

Mr. Baden-Powell has convinced himself that, originally, the zamindar was not in any sense a local landowner, except as far as he had private lands, or had, as Rajah, some kind of territorial interest. His position, it is held, depended on an official warrant which ran for his life only, and that on condition of good conduct and subject to the pleasure of the ruler. The warrant contained nothing that indicated any grant of landed rights, nor was there any power of alienating any part of the area. For our part, we accept the

statement of Zamindari status set forth, as a correct one. The point made of distinction between landed rights hereditarily pertaining to the Rajahship and such as were smuggled into the claims of a lease-holder of right to collect rent, is not a novel one ; but it is put in a novel and a clearer light than by previous authorities. The same may be said of the explanation given of the workings of *bantwara*, and the constitution of those individual bodies of village landlords called in the books *Zamindári mushtarka*. Here again is pertinent allusion to microcosms and a feudal incident—both of which many modern politicians find it convenient to forget or ignore.

The Hindu kingdoms were nearly always small ; and when we hear of great Emperors like Chandragupta and Asoka, or extensive kingdoms like Vijayanagar, it was that they took the lead as suzerain over a confederacy of smaller States, each of which was, as regards its internal affairs, practically independent. Not only was the kingdom itself of limited size, but the central feature of its constitution was a further division into 'feudal' territories : the best land for the Rájá, and the rest for the great officers (heads of clans) ; frontier and wild tracts were held by the chief selected for his special ability as *Senápati* or Commander of the forces, and by special grantees. As to the principle on which the limits of the royal and other shares were fixed, this depended largely on value, on the natural boundaries and rivers, or on distinctions of hill and plain, jungle-land and alluvial soil, &c. But we can everywhere trace a tendency in occupied country to allot by groups of villages ; we find the *chaurassi**, or territory of eighty-four villages, and the half of that as the *béalist* and so forth. The Land Revenue was taken by the chief, as by the Rájá himself, each on his own tract. The Rájá took no Revenue from the chiefs, or in their estates ; though he could demand benevolences or aids in time of war, and also a fee on succession. The real bond of union was the investiture by the Rájá and the necessity of furnishing the quota of troops for the royal service, and coming in rotation for ceremonial attendance at Court.

Inside the territories thus allotted, there was again the administrative division into villages, groups of villages, and districts†. All these divisions naturally provided the basis of so many different-sized landed-estates, when the rule was lost. Speaking broadly, the Chief's territory or perhaps the whole 'Ráj' became the *Zamindári* ; and the *pargana*, under a lesser chief, became the *Taluqdári* estate ; smaller lordships survived as single village-estates, or at most as estates consisting of groups of villages.

We shall probably, on a future occasion, have more to say about this recent issue from the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

War Times, or the Lads of Craigross. By SARAH TYTLER, Author of "Citoyenne Jacqueline." London : W. H. Allen and Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., 1893.

MRS. TYTLER is a past mistress in the art of improvisation, and excels in delineation of still life and

* As to the prevalence of this division, there are some interesting details in Beames' *Elliot's Glossary*, s. v. *chaurassi*.

† As we read in Manu of the 'lord of ten villages,' the 'lord of 100 villages' (i.e. district or *pargana*), and so on.

simple emotions. Everything in *War Times* hinges on the fortunes of the soldiers fighting England's battles in the Crimea, but the story absolutely told is that of the quiet, loving, uneventful lives of parents, sisters, sweethearts, left behind to watch and pray, and retail scandal at Craigross, while their men folk were doing manfully for Queen and country at the Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and the long protracted siege of Sebastopol. The presentments made of the canny out-of-the-way little Scotch town and its cliques, clannishness, jealousies, simplicities, combine in a pretty picture, in which several small plots and counterplots are sketched, and traits of Scotch character genially expressed.

In the Cannon's Mouth recalls to mind a disastrous incident in Anglo-Indian history. The English occupation of Kabul, when the puppet King Shah Soojah was reigning but not ruling there, and the tragedy of the retreat of the English garrison, are the pivots on which the tale turns. Mrs. Tytler is not as much at home in Afghanistan as in Scotland. As is shown when she talks of putting the pony "Alloo-baloo (wild cherry) on half a feed of attah and borussa," when she writes the pony's grasscutter down as "saces," &c., &c. Still, the story of that awful mid-winter passage of the Himalayas, that holocaust of death in one of its most awful forms, cannot but have a pathos all its own. And it is not altogether an ill wind that reminds the Englishman of to-day how Sir William Macnaghten was foully murdered, and how Afghans kept the faith they pledged to Englishman sixty years ago. In *In the Cannon's Mouth* the strong personality of Lady Sale, "the tall gaunt woman who preferred on all occasions a riding-horse and a riding-habit and was a soldier's wife, and herself every inch a soldier," is well reflected.

Through Turkish Arabia. A Journey from the Mediterranean to Bombay by the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys and the Persian Gulf. By H. SWAINSON COWPER, F.S.A. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1894.

THIS bulky volume does not purport to be more than the plain record of a journey from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, along the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris. The excuse tendered for its publication is that the Euphrates Caravan route from Aleppo to Bagdad has been described but once in a modern book of English travels, Lady Anne Blunt's "Bedouin tribes of the Euphrates." Mr. Cowper has nothing new to tell the public, either of route or tribes. As to his guesses at population, trade, etc., they are not of as much

scientific value as those statistics and details excogitated by the Euphrates Valley Expedition 57 years ago, of which the record is still available, though for that matter any parade of "statistics" in connection with the valley of the Euphrates is puerile. If an Indo-European railroad ever does run along that line it may create some. Meanwhile, Mr Cowper's secondary claim, that his itineraries of the roads between Aleppo and Bagdad and Babylon may possibly be of use to future travellers, is admissible for as much as it may be worth. It was in no spirit of enthusiasm for either science or Baedeker that he embarked on his travels. Nor were they undertaken as a refuge from *ennui*. Sheer itch for globe-trotting drove him from his comfortable home in Bloomsbury Square to the desert, there to haggle with Arabian Jews over every piastre disbursed, to endure daily discomforts, to be half-starved (comparatively speaking) to contract an obstinate, troublesome dysentery. It is the John Bull Protestant fashion of mortifying the flesh, and leads up to manufacture of a book. *Je commence parceque je n'ai rien a faire. Je finis parceque je n'ai rien a dire.* The clear moral of "Through Turkish Arabia" is that the game isn't worth half the candle expended on it. Without stepping out of his own study door, Mr. Cowper could have found out (presuming the information to be worth finding out) that "there is no European quarter in Aleppo, and consequently there are no European shops." And if he had staid at home he would not have had to lament not finding in the heart of the desert land (at Deir) "any sort of tinned or preserved provisions." *Omne ignotum pro magnifico*, says the true proverb, and so, if he had stuck to Trafalgar Square, he would not have been disenchanted with Bagdad and the Arabian Nights, and might still have believed in the glories of the Tigris, the magnificence of the mosques and minarets on its banks, "perhaps the most disappointing feature of all." Nor would he then have known the people of Aleppo to be "rude, ill-mannered, and false;" or that east of Suez small boys of tender age "lie with a grace and facility, which can only be found in ingenuous Eastern boyhood." Distance would still have lent enchantment to his view. All that he learnt from the pages of Layard, Rawlinson, Rich, Lane, Lady Anne Blunt, he could have assimilated equally well in Bloomsbury Square, and without a month of discomfort, peevish temper, and dysentery in a temperature "above 120 Fahrenheit with thermometer in the shade." There are exceptions to every rule; and experience is not *invariably* the best of schoolmasters. But for his kodak, and a few crisp pictures that, through its instrumentality, adorn the pages of his otherwise ponderous book, Mr. Cowper's journey would have been entirely unproductive. He

did not even manage to light on a new Oriental cure for dysentery. Of the mosques at Aleppo he saw nothing but the exteriors, "as it is not customary to allow Europeans to enter." During the whole period of his stay in Bagdad his health was too bad, and he was too exhausted to be able to get about, and was cooped up at the hospitable Residency.

The room I occupied was the state bedroom of the place, and is worth a little description. It was in plan a sort of T-shape, and the walls for about half their height were whitewashed stone, above which was a stalactite dado, Round the walls were stalactite-ornamented niches, or recesses, between each of which was a small mirror, the stone about which was gracefully carved in a pattern. Above, in the cross part of the T, the walls were entirely covered with mirrors of small size arranged in panels and niches; while in the limb of the T the wall above the dado was stone, on which were picked out in mirror work, vases, stars, and scrolls. The ceiling was entirely decorated in mirror work, chiefly in diamond patterns, with a mirror stalactite border, and the front part of the room was supported next to the wall by two stone columns with capitals of the same description. The effect was striking and handsome, and had a charmingly cool appearance, admirably adapted for a climate like that of Bagdad. The house is, I believe, of no very great antiquity, but this style of decoration is very characteristic, and it would be interesting to know at what date it was first adopted. Two other features of Bagdad houses should be noticed, and both are found at the Residency. They are respectively the serdabs and the flat roofs. These, in this climate, are both absolute necessities. The first are living rooms built nearly underground, though they generally have windows high up which admit light, in a similar way to the area windows of a London house. From May to September the heat in Bagdad is so great that the inhabitants live by day in the subterranean apartments, while at night they sleep on the flat roof-tops. Of course, this necessitates early rising, as the moment the sun gets above the horizon it is too hot to remain there, and the sleepers have to beat a hasty retreat into the serdabs.

The Book of Good Counsels, from the Sanskrit of the "Hitopadesa." By SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. Of University College, Oxford. Author of "The Light of Asia," "The Light of the World," etc., etc. A New Edition with Illustrations by Gordon Browne. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. Publishers to the India Office, 1893.

WHEN in India, thirty years ago, Sir Edwin Arnold strung together this chaplet of tale and verse culled from the Hitopadesa, the initial fountain spring in its earlier sources of all the world's fables. We quite agree with him that it would be a pity for all the quaint quotations from Indian poetry and all the animistic yarns it contains to be lost: the republication is welcome.

Instructive, too, as a study of Indian character and disposition, Congress-wallahs will find in it no vindication of republican principles. Birds, beasts, and fishes—all have their king, whose will is supreme law to them. The only right reserved to plebeians, is that of interminable talk. Even the wicked tigers allow their victims to orate at large before

appeasing their fierce appetites. One tiger, in a sham penitent mood confesses to having, in the days of his cubhood, when he was unregenerate, "killed cows, Brahmans, and men without number." Mark the procession in weight of guilt and remorse. It was a very little matter to have killed men without number, it was bad indeed to have taken the life of the twice-born,—but the life of a cow! Inexpiable sin. Jackals, in the Book of Good Counsels, emulate the European fame for cunning and duplicity of Reynard the fox, stupid deer taking the place of the stupid bear in the German version of the legend. Crows are quite as cunning as the fox, and, perhaps, more ingenious. Helpful, too, at a pinch to those in distress; kindly disposed to them always. The bird stories are the prettiest in the book, and sure to please children, old and young. So will Sir Edwin's gift for happy nicknames. Germ of Buddhist revolt from Brahmanism is discernible in "The winning of Friends." The monkey, strange to say, poses rather as a fool than otherwise. Oddly enough, too, the serpent figures only in two stories. Men and women are somewhat at a discount. Here is Indian notion of a too clever by half woman:—

Now it befell one day that as Jewel-bright was bestowing a kiss on the mouth of the servant, she was surprised by her husband; and, seeing him, she ran up hastily and said, "My lord, here is an impudent varlet! he eats the camphor which I procured for you; I was actually smelling it on his lips as you entered." The servant, catching her meaning, affected offence. "How can a man stay in a house where the mistress is always smelling one's lips for a little camphor?" he said; and thereat he was for going off, and was only constrained by the good man to stay, after much entreaty.

Sights and Shadows, being Examples of the Supernatural.
Collected and Arranged by FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D.D.,
Author of "The Other World, or Glimpses of the Supernatural," "More Glimpses of the World Unseen," "Glimpses in the Twilight," &c., &c. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., 1894.

JOHN Wesley maintained that those who deny the power of the Devil to possess men corporeally, and of his ghosts to haunt houses and play tricks with furniture, deny God and repudiate the plain teachings of the Bible. Dr. Lee, although his stand-point is Roman Catholic, is of like mind with the founder of Methodism about demonism, and has written several books in justification of his convictions. *Sights and Shadows*, the latest of the series, has just been published by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co. It contains seven divisions, treating with—

I. The Supernatural and its Opponents.

- II. Haunted Localities.
- III. Warnings of Danger and Death.
- IV. Apparitions.
- V. Divination.
- VI. Hypnotism.
- VII. Miracles of Healing.

The seven chapters contain curious reading,—puts the clock back two hundred years or so.

It is a pity they did not appear before Christmas, for some of the spooks they introduce to the reader beat all previous records. The chapter on Hypnotism is the one most likely to catch the eye of grown-up people. Dr. Lee's attitude towards the new scientific toy is left in no doubt. He roundly declares hypnotism to be a modern revival of the powers of ancient witchcraft. "Witchcraft in a tail coat and top-hat," and he supplies a few inconsequent 19th century instances in proof that his judgment is the only correct one. Here is one of them :—

As to the power of will of one person over another—a very crucial and important point in this practice of hypnotism—let the following, having reference to a phase of fanaticism in the village of Tolox, in the Spanish province of Malaga, be considered.

A new sect, headed by a woman reputed to be a witch, was recently set up—the members of which refused to wear any clothes. Acting at the dictation of spiritualists and mesmerists, they inflicted wounds on their bodies, howled blasphemous and outrageous songs, burnt their worldly goods, and perpetrated such other unmentionable atrocities that the Crown was compelled to interfere, when some of their leaders were put upon their trial.

As a friend who was personally conversant with this, writes : "The most interesting feature in connection with the trial has been the experiments in hypnotism which have been made on the defendants by medical 'specialists,' as they term themselves : this being the first time that hypnotism has been resorted to in Spain in the supposed interests of justice."

In nearly every case the defendants proved to be good subjects. Many of the experiments tried were of the most extraordinary character. One of the accused, for instance, when in a state of hypnotism, on being ordered to perspire, broke out almost instantly into a state of profuse perspiration ; while another, who was ordered to ascend a very high mountain, being all the while in an ordinary room, behaved as if he were actually climbing ; his breathing becoming difficult and his heart beating violently. When this man was told that he had reached the summit and might rest awhile, the symptoms of exhaustion gradually disappeared. Others were pricked with long pins,* and gave not the smallest or slightest evidence of feeling what was being done to them."

On pages 205, 206, and 207 Mr. Gladstone is discovered assisting at a spiritualist seance. It was most improper of him, for Cardinal Bona has warned the faithful that the actual holiness of some people does not remove from them the chance and risk of diabolical illusion.

* In the seventeenth-century pamphlets on the subject of Witchcraft, this test is found to have been constantly applied.

Memories of the Mutiny ; by Col. Maude, V. C. and C.B., and J. W. Sherer, C.S.I., 2 vols. London. 1894.

THIS bulky book, filled with somewhat ill-compiled anecdotes and crude prints, is at the same time the most vivid representation that has ever been laid before the public of average European existence during the terrible year of Anglo-Indian history. The two veterans, military and civil, babble on, each in his own way ; one of authority, overthrown in the dark and restored in the cruel blaze of noon-tide battle ; the other, of heroic efforts to save the suffering and punish the perpetrators of crime ; until the whole tragic drama is reproduced to the imagination of modern readers and to the memory of the few survivors who can hardly yet realise, after the lapse of thirty-seven years, that they are still alive to think of all that they witnessed then. It was a tragic drama, yet not without those flashes of comedy which strike the mind like the quips of the grave-digger amid the horrors of Elsinore. Col. Maude has humour, though it is of a grim tone, reminding one of Balzac : that of Mr. Sherer is lighter, yet more abundant than that of his coadjutor, and has at times a smack of Charles Dickens in its observation and whim.

Mr. Sherer was Magistrate and Collector of Fatehpur-Haswa at the commencement of the outbreak—the place is a swampy hollow, about halfway between Cawnpore and Allahabad. Finding his position becoming untenable, something like a month after the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi, he resolved to move on Banda, where Mr. F. O. Mayne still held out, with some modicum of support from the Nawab. The Judge at Fatehpur was Mr. R. Tucker, a man of much originality and determination, who quixotically refused to share in the evacuation, and was slaughtered, next day, on the roof of his Court-house, though not until he had shot more than a dozen of his assailants. Soon after reaching Banda, the fugitives were again swept onward, Mayne accompanying them, and his assistant Cockerell perishing in an attempt to join them from Kirwi. At Mirzapur, Mr. Sherer met the Commissioner of Allahabad, under whose instructions he joined Havelock and was present in all the actions of his famous advance. On arrival at Cawnpore, he took charge of what was left of the district and remained through all the remaining vicissitudes of the year, gradually restoring order and giving help to the military authorities—services which were rewarded with the Star of India when that Order was instituted a little later. On personal topics, however, he preserves a modest reticence ; and the chief interest of his tale arises from the record of things actually witnessed in a most abnormal experience, and in the quaint touches of humour by which, as already said—the

narrative is lighted up. In the depth of the gloom they held races—the "Cawnpore Autumn Meeting"—, and we are told how they improvised a four-in-hand, and vainly strove to provide a cornet for the back-seat, although the bandsman available for the purpose was only able to furnish the inappropriate accompaniment of a flute! Bright impressionist portraits of notable men who appeared at Cawnpore from time to time, make up the rest of the show. Here we have, for example, the late Sir George Campbell; the happily still-surviving "Billy Russell" of *The Times*; Lord Canning with his tragic countenance, as of Hamlet lamenting his lot in a disjointed time; Sir H. Layard, the excavator of ancient Nineveh; and William Hodson, hastening to his fate, but pausing to justify to his old school-fellow, the slaughter of the Delhi Princes.

Col. Maude gives the more purely military side of the same campaign, ending with the relief of Lucknow in November, the withdrawal of the heroic defenders of the Residency, and the final overthrow of the Gwalior Contingent.

It is a strange retrospect. Whatever fortunes may await the British Empire in the East, it is perhaps unlikely that our rulers should ever again have to encounter perils of exactly the same description. To the men of those days were opposed a host of disciplined soldiers, with fortresses and arsenals, and countless pieces of heavy artillery, and field-guns served by devoted gunners. On their side were at first only a few hundreds of white infantry-men, with a few ill-manned field-batteries: but with them were leaders named Neil, Havelock, and Outram; stanch mutual trust, perfect discipline, and the consciousness of a good cause. With the help and co-operation of John Lawrence and his men, Delhi was taken and Lucknow relieved, in the teeth of fearful odds, before a man had come from Europe. The exact events will not be repeated; the moral lesson is not the less to be prized. And this book will help to keep it alive.

H. G. KEENE.

India's Princes: Short Life Sketches of the Native Rulers of India. By M. GRIFFITH. London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place, S. W., Publishers to the India Office, 1894.

SOME twenty years ago, before the Prince of Wales had inaugurated the fashion of globe-trotting through India, a Frenchman, a Monsieur Rousselet, wrote a lively account of his travels to central Indian Courts, and what he saw there, which had some vogue at the time, and the popularity of which showed that the English public *can* be interested in

Indian affairs and the conditions of a society differently arranged from the one they are used to, when the pictures of it held up to their view are vivid and picturesque. The Frenchman's book—*The India of the Rajas*, it was called, we think, is out of date now, out of print very probably; but the courts and camps of the Princes of Hindusthan are still picturesque, and not yet altogether overwhelmed by alien civilizations and compromises with the social conventions of the West; there is still some originality, some survival of barbaric pearl and gold, and peculiar etiquettes left them. Mrs. Griffith is not colour blind to the refreshfulness of lights and shades other than those to which English people have grown habituated. And so, unconsciously following in the wake of the Frenchman who exploited Rájas and their Courts at a period precedent to that in which they were all exalted to Maharajahships, she has produced *India's Princes: Short Life Sketches of the Native Rulers of India*. Readable sketches, courtly without being Grandisonian, informing without being tedious, and yet sufficiently ballasted with statistics, &c. The book is beautifully got up, lavishly and artistically illustrated, with portraits of reigning chiefs, views of their capital cities, &c. The accompanying letter press is excellent in its way, just what such a guide to Indian Courts ought to contain. She affords an introduction to three Punjab Chiefs (including Kashmir) to five in Rajputana, three in Central India, eight in the Bombay Presidency, three in Southern India. All her sketches are good. It seems invidious to select one rather than another as an illustration of her carefully unornate style and simple manner of treatment; we will take an impersonal extract by way of showing her quality as a writer. It is from the first of the Rajputana group, from the story of Udaipur, the Chief of which State is highest in rank and dignity of all the Rajput Chiefs of Hindusthan, claiming descent from the elder branch of the *Surja Vansa*. His Highness Dhiraj Sir Fateh Singh Bahadur, G. C. S. I., is, we are told, lineal descendant of a triple royal line—namely, Rama, of whom he is the direct representative—the Persian Monarchs, and the Roman Emperors. “He is the first of the thirty-six royal tribes, and is termed the Sun of the Hindus.” We have digressed from the impersonal extract. Here it is:—

“The history of Northern India is full of stirring incidents and rich in legendary lore; but the bards—the historians of the past—have so embellished it with flowery metaphors and miraculous deeds, that it is difficult to separate truth from fiction. Taking, however, only the merest outlines from the annals of Rajputana, they present a picture unequalled by any other history in the world. It is impossible not to look with admiration amounting to enthusiasm upon a people, who can trace their descent in an unbroken line to about 2,500 years,

B. C., the splendour of whose courts and the depth of whose learning would have been remarkable even in this, the 19th century; whose Kings were often mighty warriors, legislators, and high priests, a race, who struggled for centuries to maintain their independence, and defended to the death their ancient religion and liberty, and who, in spite of every temptation, have kept their noble name and lineage untarnished. Rajputana includes twenty Native States, each having its separate ruler, as well as the British district of Ajmir-Marwára. Udaipur, or Mewar stands foremost among the Rajputana States. It is under the political superintendence of the Mewar Agency, and from north to south measures 148 miles, with an average breadth from east to west of 163 miles. The total area of the State is 12,670 square miles, with a population of 1,494,220 souls, and an estimated revenue of £510,000. It has 5,722 towns and villages."

Here is an extract in another style; it refers to the late Begum of Bhopal:—

"She was a remarkable person, and never veiled in the fashion of Muhammadan women, but administered the State in person with the utmost energy and aptitude; a strange combination, full of generous impulses, but fierce, strong, and relentless. She kept her daughter, the present Begum, in the most abject state of submission. On one occasion, hearing that her daughter had met in the house of a relative a young man of the Royal house of Delhi, who was soliciting her hand, she imprisoned her for months in her own room, and beat her with her own hand, while the unfortunate lover was hung in an iron cage at the gate of the fortress, and was only released after some months on the persistent remonstrance of the British Political officer."

Facing page 114 there is a suggestive picture of the boy Prince, Madhoji Rao, Maharaja Scindia, ætat 8, holding his first durbar. He looks quiet, self-possessed in his prominent position, quite dignified, one is tempted to say. Mrs. Griffith writes thus of the ceremony:—

"In the month of July, 1886, a curious scene was enacted in the Moti Mahal, or Parel Palace, in Gwalior. It was the placing of a little boy of eight years, son and heir of the late Maharaja Scindia, upon the throne of one of the most important States in the whole of India. It was a very hot day, the sun shone brilliantly as if to give additional honour to the imposing and touching ceremony about to take place. The whole of Scindia's troops were drawn up in front of the palace. The grand Durbar Hall was decorated with truly regal magnificence; here were assembled the nobles of the State in their gay costumes and many jewels; their attendants equally gorgeous, and the officials in handsome uniforms. At five o'clock the booming of the guns from the old historic fortress—the first time for Scindia's guns to be fired there for twenty-eight years—and the music of the military bands announced the arrival of the principal actors in the scene. Preceded by a procession of heralds and followed by the State officers, came Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in full uniform, leading the little Prince by the hand, and having on either side Colonel Bannerman (Resident), Mr. Petre, and Major Kingscote. The young Maharaja, a charming little fellow, was magnificently dressed in rich brocaded yellow silk, sewn with diamonds; a splendid diamond aigrette glittering on his forehead, and carrying under his arm a miniature general's sword. During the ceremony he was not

seated, as was customary, on a State chair, but was placed on Sir Lepel Griffin's knee, which was intended to signify that he and his possessions were confided to the Agent's care. Sir Lepel Griffin at the close of the installation ceremony, placed round the young King's neck a beautiful necklace of pearls, and seated him on the gadi; *attar* and *pān* were presented to him by the British officials and Sirdars. Salutes were again fired, the bands playing the National Anthem, and the Darbar was ended."

An appreciative note is struck with reference to the liberal mindedness and inclinations towards progress of the Chiefs of Gondal and Morvi. The liberalism of His Highness of Mysore finds more than favour at the hands of our fair author. She writes:—

"Under this able and liberal Government, female education is fast spreading, one of the most notable proofs being the success of the Maharani's Girl's School, which occupies a part of the Palace, and in which Her Highness, the Maharani, takes a keen and personal interest. Founded in 1881, with the advice and co-operation of the late Dewan, Mr. R. C. Rungacharlee, C. I. E., it started with twenty eight pupils, which now have increased to six hundred; sixty-five girls receive training in their own homes; there are fifty-five teachers in the school and twenty home instructors; seventy-nine girls receive scholarships. This model institution is under a committee of management, and is now entirely supported by the Mysore Government. Up to the present time there has been no regular system for examination, or for granting certificates to teachers, but this matter is now under consideration. The most satisfactory feature of the institution is the large attendance of young married ladies of the Brahminical caste of an age (twenty years) which in other parts of India precludes girls from resorting to public schools. It is true that in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, &c., young ladies are to be seen at schools, but they are mostly, if not entirely, non-Brahmins, who enjoy a greater latitude of freedom. Mr. A. Narasimaha Iyengar, R. B., through whose exertions, to a great extent, the school has been founded, and who devotes much time and energy to its advancement, has been appointed superintendent of all the Girls' Schools in the Province. Miss E. A. Manning, Honorary Secretary of the National Indian Association, recently visited Mysore, and thus describes the Maharani's Girls' School:—'The whole sight was very beautiful. The hall was decorated with 'auspicious' leaves and lovely flowers, and the rich dresses of the pupils, as well as some of the visitors, rendered the scene most gay and pleasing. The pupils' (mostly silk) *sarees* were not of the gaudy colours now frequently seen in India, but of the deep reds and yellows and dark blues which have such a reposeful effect. Many of the girls wear metal belts, and in their hair the small round gold plate usual in those parts, and of course, chains of gold, bracelets, armlets, clusters of pearls in the ears, and many other jewels. Several of the pupils also performed with much taste on the Hindu instrument called the 'Vina.' Cookery is practically taught; and drawing, needlework, and embroidery, the object being to give 'a healthy moral and intellectual education that would fit a girl to become a model wife and mother, rather than to merely promote a higher standard of study.' The pupils belong to the higher grade of society, and a home education system has been arranged for supplying instruction in the Zenana to married girls."

In so many words, Mrs. Griffith has done the work she set herself to do very well indeed.

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. Edited by the Rev. A. SAUNDERS DYER, M.A., F.S.A. January, 1894.

PROVERBIAL philosophy teaches us that mistakes will happen in the best regulated families, and so, in noticing the January number of the *I. C. Q. R.* received towards the end of March, it is only needful, in that respect, to say that the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer has returned from furlough, and hopes to evolve order out of chaos.

We wish he had returned in time to prevent the insertion of Mr. Sharrock's acrimonious article on *Caste and Christianity*. Whatever the merits or demerits of a cause may be, nothing can be gained on either side by importation into it of personal strifes and jealousies. They become inevitably text-books for scandal mongers, needs must be offensive, specially so when aired in the pages of a Missionary organ, the keynote of which should be peace and good-will. Thereanent—is the etiquette of official dinners, &c. matter of such vital concern to the church as to be worth squabbling over? The Rev. A. T. Wirgman thinks it is, and in an article entitled, *Title of Archbishop in India*, writes indignantly:—

But this question of precedence is not to be lightly passed over.

We know of a Colonial Metropolitan, who was invited to an official dinner at Government House, in a certain Colony, and the Roman Bishop was given distinct precedence before him. We have seen Cardinals in England and in the Colonies given places of precedence before our own Prelates.

"*Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*" should be our true motto in the face of these encroachments. We have no business to acquiesce in this public acknowledgment of Roman claims.

The Rev. R. L. Page, Superior General, S. S. J. E., advocates monasticism, asceticism, as a more excellent way of converting Indian peoples to Christianity than those that have hitherto obtained. No impartial minded man who has lived long in India, *among the people*, and gauged their bias (however Protestantly-minded he may be), will, off hand, condemn or contemn this advice, knowing, as he knows, how great is the sanctity imputed, the influence allowed, by popular acclaim, to mortifiers of the flesh and observers of self-denying ordinances.

The Archdeacon of Bombay speaks a word in season—a warning word to Young India on *Liberty: Ethical and Political*. He defines liberty as "the power to obey the laws, and to do what is right from unselfish motives."

It is a definition that neither Herbert Spencer, nor Mr. Labouchere, nor the fractious Indian Baboo is likely to accept as satisfying his yearnings. But it is as good as ninety-eight

definitions out of a hundred ; better than these by just as much as one can conceive the heart to be a more worthy and trustworthy guide to duty towards one's neighbour than the head.

To the lay mind Mr. Trons' scholarly *Sketch on Church Music* will probably appear the most interesting paper in this issue of the Review.

Rulers of India. Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency. BY JOHN BRADSHAW, M.A., LL.D., Inspector of Schools, Madras. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press: 1894.

THE story of *Sir Thomas Munro and the British Settlement of the Madras Presidency* creditably maintains the reputation of the Clarendon Press, for appreciation of worthy life stories and the fitting in of them to the world's history of what was going on concurrently in other spheres. Possibly the most salient point of interest for the modern reader in connection with Munro's Governorship, is the change in its economical conditions effected by railways, telegraphs, and so forth. Munro was a reformer by instinct, and could claim merit of belief in the efficacy of the reforms he advocated. He was enthusiastic enough to believe it possible for an educated, cultured, well-meaning man to get uneducated, uncultured, fouzdaaree inclining men to sympathise and co-operate with his transcendentalisms.

He was disappointed of course. But of such disappointments good sometimes comes. We are apt to lay so much stress on the dogma that the sins of the fathers are visited on their children, that we forget correlatives, ignore the discipline necessary to formation of character, avoid useful comparisons.

SIR THOMAS MUNRO'S life and work in India may be divided into four periods. The first, from 1780 to 1792, was purely military, and during most of these twelve years he was on active service in the wars with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. In the second, 1792-1807, he was employed in the civil administration of the country: from 1792 to 1799 in the Barámahal, which had been ceded by Tipu; in 1799-1800 in Kanara, and from 1800 to 1807 in the Districts still known as the Ceded Districts, acquired by treaty with the Nizam in 1800. The third period, 1814-1818, after an interval of six years in Europe, was spent partly in civil and partly in military duty. He was sent out by the Court of Directors in 1814 as 'Principal Commissioner for the revision of the internal administration of the Madras territories'—judicial and financial; and during 1817-1818, he was in command of a division of the army in the last Maratha War. The fourth period, after a short visit to England in 1819, was that of his Governorship of Madras, from June 8, 1820, until his death on July 6, 1827.

In so many words Sir Thomas Munro commenced his Indian career with the commencement of the war for supremacy in Southern India with Haidar Ali. Haidar had French officers in his pay: their knowledge of the art of war was as

great as that of their adversaries, though in strategy they tailed off. Sir Hector Munro commanding at the time was out-generaled. His complete discomfiture was effected by the rout of Baillie's detachment at Perambakam, in September 1780.

Our author thinks "it was surprising that Haidar, after raising the siege of Vellore, did not hasten to engage the English army before it was re-inforced. Haidar knew better. Although he did not shirk pitched engagements when they were forced on him, he much preferred the chances of guerilla warfare. General Munro's military unsuccessful justification of which is, in the book before us, attempted, was so patent, that only the mists of history can excuse its repetition.

General Munro's line was not conduct of a successful campaign, but conduct of peaceful administrative measures.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Hindutva.—By Babu Chandra Nath Basu, M.A., B.L., printed at the Valmiki Press, 100-1, Machua Bazar Road, and published by Babu Gurudas Chatterjee, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

THIS is evidently a work of Hindu revival, and therefore it is desirable to give some idea of this movement, which is liable to so many misinterpretations. Was Hinduism actually dead in Bengal, that a resuscitation became necessary? Not so. The learned Brahmans of Bengal, and the entire mass of men who had not received the benefit of English education, *were*, are, and will remain, staunch Hindus, and these men will always consider the phrase Hindu revival as a misnomer. But the hold of Hinduism on people who had received English education was rather feeble. The first generation of educated Bengalis thought, with their master De Rozio, that the whole mass of Arabic and Oriental literature contained but a few grains of sense. Some of these men became Christians, others violent Anglicists. A change came over the spirit of young Bengal in the next generation. The patriotic teachings of European history and the preachings of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, turned their minds from Christianity, but they remained as violent Anglicists as their predecessors, admiring everything English, and hating everything Indian. This was the period of Brahmo activity. But a second change came over the spirit of young Bengal. With the spread of education, old orthodox families began to study English without acquiring the tinge of Anglicism. These thought that the excellences of Hinduism as a religious, social, moral and domestic organisation should be pointed out to young Bengal, so that they might not be betrayed into an antagonism to the institutions of their own country; and thus the work of revival began. It is confined to young men receiving English education, or education under European methods.

Within the last ten years the Bengal Press has been deluged with works written solely with this object, all the distinguished writers contributing their quota. Excellent works have been written to point out the innate worth of Hindu domestic, social and religious organisations. Babu Chandra Nath's is the first work which treats of the Hindu articles of faith. It aims at being an exposition of the deepest and abstrusest doctrines of Hinduism, not in a spirit of apology, not in a spirit of bombast, but in a calm and dispassionate spirit. The work is a

very difficult one. The Hindus are notorious for the diversity of their transcendental doctrines, every individual school having a complete set of doctrines of its own. Babu Chandra Nath has selected the noblest doctrines of Hinduism, but he has not followed any one of the ancient schools. Yet he does not aim at establishing a school of doctrine himself. His sole object is to compare, so far as lies in his power, the leading doctrines of Hindu faith with those of other religions, which, in the present case, mean Brahmaism and Christianity.

The first doctrine treated of in this work is the identity of the Godhead with the Universe. This is the celebrated non-dual theory of the *Upanishads*. The Hindu idea of Divinity differs from the Semitic idea, which makes God so totally different from everything created by Him, that to represent him by any created thing is the gravest sin. Next comes the aim of human life—Why are we born? The Semitic would say—for His pleasure, for His glorification. But the answer of the Hindu is different. He says we are born that we may be ultimately absorbed in Him.

But how is this absorption to come about? Not by doing good work, which will be weighed on the day of judgment, but by doing good to others, from a sense of duty, without any regard to its consequences in the shape of reward. It is thus that the human soul ceases to receive any colouring from mundane affairs and becomes fit for the final absorption. To attain this final object, to turn the mind away from all consideration of reward, the hardest struggle is necessary, and the Hindus are prepared to burn themselves in a slow fire, the highest form of austerity known as a punishment for transgression. Then comes the question of transgression—the question of *Karma*. The Hindu is absolutely responsible for his own actions. He does not believe in a Mediator, who, out of benevolence, takes his sins on himself. For the least thing the Hindu does he must suffer the consequence, a strict reckoning being kept of all his acts. *Karma* to him is inexorable, inevitable, and all powerful. But men do not suffer the consequence of their works in this life, and so they must do so in the next and next. This leads to the theory of continual transmigration of the soul. The only escape from *Karma* is by *Jñāna*, or true knowledge, which leads to *Karma* for *Karma's* sake.

These are the principal points in Chandra Babu's book. He has deduced from these—the Love of Infinity which actuates the Hindu mind, one phase of which is the Hindu's strong desire to leave a progeny behind. Babu Chandra Nath regards the domestic sacraments of the Hindus, such as marriage, &c., as leading to spiritual advancement. In fact the whole Hindu domestic economy is based, not on considerations of temporal welfare, but

on considerations of spiritual advancement. The Hindu finds no fault in the worship of images or in the belief in the existence of thirty-three crores of gods, because, according to him, God is everything.

Many of them think that a belief in the lower forms of God is necessary in the earlier stages of spiritual training, as it gradually leads to higher and higher conceptions, till the whole Universe appears identified with the Deity.

Born of an orthodox Hindu family, Babu Chandranath received the highest English education available in his day. He early felt the influence of Anglicism, the power of which was simply irresistible. But he and his friends felt the denationalising spirit of Anglicism and tried to shake it off. They not only succeeded in this, but also succeeded in bringing about the Hindu revival movement, which is likely to save thousands from the baneful consequences of aping European manners and adopting European modes of thought.

Shikh Yuddher Itihās and Mahārāj Dhaleep Singh. Printed at 79-3, Cornwallis Street, Newton Press. Printed by Jogendra-Nath Mallik, and published by Baradākānta Mitra, 120, Grey Street, Calcutta.

THE work begins with the death of Ranajit Sing, the Lion of the Punjab, and ends with the death of his youngest son, Dhaleep Sing. It naturally divides itself into two parts—(1) The History of the First and Second Sikh Wars (2) The History of Dhaleep Sing. The whole work is painful to read. The first part shows how absolutely the power of governing others had left the people of India. As soon as the strong hand which held the Punjab Chiefs together, was removed, weakness and incapacity reigned supreme, assassination followed assassination. Neo Nehal Sing, the worthiest of the descendants of Ranajit, was the first victim of assassination at a moment when he was expecting coronation as King on the death of his father. Then followed Sher Sing, Pratap Sing, Dhyana Sing, Hírá Sing and Jawahir Sing—all, in the course of two or three years after Ranajit's death, fell victims to the assassin's knife. Indeed, in 1855, it was found that there was none in the Lahore durbar who could keep the army in check and govern the country properly. The army, the splendid army, the result of 200 years of stubborn resistance to Mahomadan oppression and fanaticism, the glorious result of Guru Govinda's martial training and military organization, the army that was inspired by the sole desire of establishing a Hindu empire in the Land of the Five Rivers, and in the fulfilment of which it had achieved wonderful success, looked at the incapacity, sensuality, irresolution and stupidity of the Chiefs of the

Punjab durbar with scorn. The Chiefs tried to conciliate them by increasing their pay, but they could not conceal from themselves that the army was the supreme power in the State. The Chiefs in concert concocted the excellent plan of making the army fight with the English, so that whether they conquered, or perished, the Chiefs might be all safe at Lahore. This was the mean and dastardly motive with which the army was allowed to invade British India. The story of the two Sikh wars is already too well-known to require repetition. The author has told it in an attractive form, and the mass of papers and records and books he has gone through has given a special value to all he has said. As a historian he has not spared any wrongdoer, however highly placed, and no good or gracious act has been recorded without a worthy meed of praise. The writer seems to bring no prejudice into his work. He gets his colouring from the records he reads. These records, fortunately, are too recent and too voluminous to bear any dubious interpretation. The information brought together and arranged in the work is truly wonderful for a vernacular historical work. The Historical Literature of Bengal contains a number of school histories only, a few caste genealogies and a few short histories of the Zemindar families of Bengal. Under such circumstances a work of this nature is certainly welcome as a valuable contribution. The second part of the work deals with the biography of Dhaleep Sing. Many would be curious to know how the young Hindu lad, deprived of his large kingdom at the early age of eleven, passed his days; and the work gives full information on the subject. The story of Dhaleep will, certainly, as told in this work, excite popular sympathy with him in his sufferings, but no one will sympathise with him in his wild excesses while in Russia.

The list of authorities consulted in the compilation of this work does not contain the name of Mahamad Latif's excellent history of the Punjab, a perusal of which might have given the author a deeper insight into the character and capabilities of the Sikh nation. The spirit which animated the Sikhs, from the very establishment of their fraternity, was to throw off the Mahomedan yoke, and to keep the Mahomedans at arm's length. The history of the struggle of the Afghans and the Sikhs in the Punjab during the whole of the 18th century, and the history of the violence, rapine, fanaticism and sacrilege which accompanied it, show that the Sikhs were an excellent power for destruction. There was only one man among them who was gifted with a lofty constructive genius, and that was Ranjeet Singh.

But Runjit, too, failed to construct an empire, or a kingdom. He simply constructed a military despotism. All went on well

so long as he was there at the head. On his death the national character appeared in its full vigour. The empire showed evident signs of dismemberment. The only thing which could keep it together was the Khalsa army. The Sirdars were all seeking their own interests, but the interests of the army and of Ranjeet's descendants were identical. The army kept the Sirdars in awe, and so the Sirdars could not commence the work of destruction as speedily as they wished. But the army must have something to destroy. There was nothing in the whole of the Punjab which could form a worthy object for the destruction by the army, and so they wanted to destroy the British Power. They expected that their Sirdars would lead them, and they were under the illusion that they were actually leading them, but in fact, the Sirdars simply betrayed them.

English politicians had been for a long time scrutinising and examining the national character of the Sikhs. They were fully convinced that the Khalsa army constituted a great danger to the British Empire, but they were from the very beginning prepared for the worst. The result of the struggle between the Khalsa army and the English could not have been other than it was. The stupidity of the Sirdars simply hastened the consummation and made it easy. In the natural course of events the English would have been called upon to govern the Punjab ten years, or say, twenty years later, for the historian of the Punjab says there was no nation in the whole of India which could give peace and prosperity to any of its provinces, and it was the veritable decree of Providence that a foreign nation should come and establish that universal peace in India which she so much needed after the struggle of centuries.

Ravan-badha Kavya. Part I. By Haragovinda Laskar. Printed by Mahendranath Banerji, 81, Mukhtaram Baboo's Street, Calcutta.

THIS is an epic poem, and it threatens to come out in volumes. The present part contains the first three whole cantos and a few lines of the fourth. The author begins his preface with the statement, that a poem on the fall of Ravan is likely to illuminate the Bengali language as a supplement to the *Meghnadha Badha*, by Michael M. Dutt; and he offers himself as such illuminator. But evil-minded people will probably express doubts as to the nature of the light he will shed. Some say it has only made "darkness visible." The author plumes himself upon being the originator of a new metrical system in Bengali, and it is a hard metrical study indeed. He has invented verses in imitation of the inimitable songs of Jai-deva; and these add to the beauty of his work. In reading the book one

is sure to lose his patience, for one is so amused with the absurd versification, that he has scarcely time to think of the language, much less of the sense. In first class poets the speeches of different characters are so well marked, that the reader can easily distinguish and enjoy them. Our author has invented a novel method of distinguishing his characters. It is neither the thought, nor the tone, nor the sentiment, but the versification which distinguishes the characters. Each character has a peculiar verse assigned to him, and when the author speaks, he also speaks in a peculiar verse. Whether the character speaks of love or war, pleasure or pain, sorrow or enjoyment, he must speak in the same measured language. In fact, every attempt at the introduction of Sanskrit versification into Bengali, even when made by gifted men like Bharat Chundra, has failed. And the failure of Babu Baladev Palit, of Patna, in the same rash attempt, many people thought, would be a lesson to future poets. But every theory has its martyrs, and Babu Haragovinda Laskar has become the second martyr, because he did not pay any heed to the fate of the first.

Bimátá-ná-Rákshasi (Step-mother or the Female Monster).

Printed by Anukul Chandra Chakravarti, at the Káliká Press, 23, Jugal Kissore Dass' lane, Calcutta, and published by Sarat Chandra Chakravarti.

THIS is a small novel describing one of the most disastrous effects of polygamy, namely, the neglect and torment which the step-child suffers at the hand of the step-mother. The present work describes this evil with considerable power. The step-child, Bhupál is wholly neglected. The first scene opens with Bhupál, a child of five years, sleeping up to 3 o'clock in the night in an open garden without being noticed. The step-mother *Mánini* had so much influence over her hen-pecked and infatuated husband, that he did not dare to do anything to relieve the poor boy. *Mánini* beats Bhupal, deprives him of wholesome food, tries to poison him, gets all her husband's property transferred to herself, but is still not satisfied. On a false and absurd charge of theft, she hands him over to the Police, bribes the Sub-Inspector and the witnesses, and succeeds at last in getting him put into jail; her husband remaining all the while a silent spectator and tacit approver of all her proceedings. The book is likely to be popular, as it is written in an attractive style and on a familiar subject.

Bijnána, Science. A Monthly Paper, printed and published at at 34-I, Calutolla Street, by Kebalráma Chatterji.

WE hail with delight the first appearance of a purely scientific journal in Bengali. It was a great desidera-

tum. 7 We have enough of journals of medicine, art and religion, but scientific journal we have had none. The Indian Industrial Association have, therefore, earned the thanks of the community by their endeavour to start a popular scientific monthly journal. The articles will be interesting and useful to all classes of Bengalis, and they are written in a clear, simple and engaging style. The first number, which has been lying on our table for the last two months, contains an account of Cuvier, the comparative anatomist, of the air we inhale, of pearl fisheries, of bacilli and their remedies, the *Básak*, of food and the digestive organs, of flies, of cotton, of country coal, of saltpetre as a manure, and so on. It is a very interesting paper, and the name of Mr. T. N. Mukerji as one of the managers, is a guarantee that it will be well conducted and will be useful if it gets that amount of support from the public which is required for the success of a journal of this nature.

Mui Hyandu.—(I am a Hindu) by Beharilall Chatterji, printed by U. C. Basu & Co, 6, Bhim Ghose's Lane, and published by Manmathanath Chatterji, 17, Tarak Chatterji's Lane Calcutta. Price 4 annas.

IT was in an evil hour that Babu Amritlal Basu published his beautiful comedietta, the *Bivaha Bivrat*, in 1886. Since then Bengal has been deluged with wretched imitations of it. None of these imitations even distantly approach the sparkling wit and overpowering humour of the original. They are all coarse and vulgar. Though no court of law is likely to hold them as obscene publications, still they are doing an immense mischief to the country by vitiating the tastes of young students and zenana ladies, among whom they find a large number of readers. *Abalá Byarák*, *Rukmini ranga*, *Svadhin Zenana*, *Saptamite Bisarjan*, *Bejáya áyoyáj* &c., are works which deserve to be burnt by the public hangman. There are people who justify the coarseness and abusive tone of these works by referring to the wildness and rabidness of the anglicism and go-a-headism which they are intended to check. They say that where argument and advice fail, keen satire often succeeds. This may be true, but it is not the satires that we condemn; it is the coarseness, the bad taste, and the indelicacy of the satires that we complain of. The present work, *Mui Hyandu*, belongs to the category of these wretched imitations. It is a satire in which the want of a point is more than supplied by coarse language and indelicate thought.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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